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ALEXANDER IST

Emperor of all the Russias.

Engraved by Chas. Heath, from a Painting by Gerard Kugelgen.

318
Northern Campaigns,

FROM THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR IN 1812,

TO THE
ARMISTICE SIGNED AND RATIFIED JUNE 4, 1813;

With an Appendix,

CONTAINING ALL THE
BULLETINS ISSUED BY THE FRENCH RULER
DURING THIS CONTEST, &c. &c. &c.

Illustrated by

MAPS OF RUSSIA AND NORTHERN POLAND, AND PLANS OF EACH PARTICULAR ROUTE
OF THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN ARMIES DURING THE ADVANCE AND
RETREAT OF THE FORMER FROM MOSCOW.

Embellished with Portraits of the Emperor Alexander & Buonaparte.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOHN PHILIPPART, Esq.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY PATRICK MARTIN AND CO. 198, OXFORD-STREET,
CORNER OF ORCHARD-STREET;

AND BY

J. BALLANTYNE AND CO. EDINBURGH; AND J. CUMMING, DUBLIN.

1813.

W. Wilson, Printer, 4, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden, London.

WILSON
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Dedication,
(BY PERMISSION)

TO

GENERAL,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE ADOLPHUS FREDERICK

DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE,

K. G. &c. &c.

Sir,

I INDULGE in the greatest degree that proud gratification which the honorable permission of Dedicating this Work to a Prince and a British General, universally beloved and respected, must naturally inspire in a mind warmly alive to the pleasing sentiments of gratitude, and loyalty to the Members of the Illustrious House of Brunswick.

Permit me most respectfully to assure Your Royal Highness, that it has been my wish throughout the following pages, to furnish a faithful and impartial detail of those grand and important military occurrences on the Continent which

have astonished Europe ; and that in reviewing the policy which has actuated the several Chiefs engaged in those events, I have been directed by the same feeling, and a spirit of independence. —Influenced by such principles, and impressed with the idea that they will throughout be perfectly apparent to the liberal and enlightened mind of Your Royal Highness, I entertain a sanguine hope that this work will not be found undeserving of the distinction which the Illustrious Name of Your Royal Highness must afford to it.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest respect,

Your Royal Highness's most truly Devoted, and

Dutiful, Humble Servant,

J. PHILIPPART.

London, Oct. 24, 1813.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AT the moment when the great and important military and political events on the Continent are passing before our eyes, it requires no ordinary diligence in the analyst to search for, to discover, and collect amidst the mass of contradictory matter and intelligence, real circumstances, their sources and effects. A general knowledge must also be acquired of the high contending parties, their habits, characters, passions, and interests: an extensive correspondence, a clear and dispassionate judgment of past, and passing occurrences, and an undeviating regard to the fundamental spring and principle of historic excellence, truth. In a further requisite for the compilation of a work of this nature, the author of the following pages esteems himself eminently for-

fortunate, having been favoured with original communications through channels open to few, and aided and strengthened by the most cool, elegant, and perspicuous, remarks of those, to whose mature judgment he owns himself much indebted: yet, notwithstanding this advantage, it will be admitted by the intelligent and well-informed reader, that the task of publishing, at this early period, a correct and circumstantial account of the Northern Campaigns of 1812 and 1813, in which the operations were most extensive, and the reverses of fortune most extraordinary, is extremely difficult.

The following pages will be found to embrace not only such events as occurred during the unprincipled and unprovoked invasion of the Russian territories, but all the subsequent movements, dispositions, and exploits of the Allied and French armies; events most interesting to Europe, as thereon depend her future independence, happiness, and equilibrium.

The celebrated proclamations which in-

spired a great people to rise and expel by the most vigorous exertions, their avowed and implacable subjugators, are in this work given in detail. The author, feeling their high importance to history, and conscious of their weight at the moment they were promulgated, has conceived it his duty, as a faithful narrator, to introduce them in their order, with his own observations. They are in fact so connected, so mingled with the business of this remarkable war, that the work would be an imperfect structure if deprived of them. It is therefore presumed every military and political character will coincide in this opinion: and if these proclamations are not considered the basis of Russian and Prussian exaltation, they may at least be estimated as the corner-stone, having united the prince's power with the people's strength, which so cemented because invincible, and which, without such bond of union, must separately, or together, have tottered into ruin.

The Author of the Northern Campaigns proposes to treat every subject which comes

under his discussion as a military or historical event, and disclaims all party feelings, principles, or exertions, having always considered such motives as destructive to the spirit of veracity, vigour, and independence; and perfectly irrelevant to a work of this description. Every political event of importance is, however, introduced; various statements of great and general interest; the Treaties of Alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the different powers; Topographical Notes; and Anecdotes relating to Buonaparte and his army during the retreat from Moscow, communicated by officers serving in the Allied Armies. The latter are presented to the reader in the same form they were received by the author; and it is presumed they, as well as the Topographical Notes, will serve to lighten and relieve those sombre subjects with which a detail of military movements must naturally abound.

It is proper to explain to the reader that some portions of the work before him have already met the public eye in a military

periodical work of extensive circulation, the Royal Military Panorama. Such passages, having been written under the influence of momentary feeling, compiled from public dispatches, private communications, &c. are now given in a more solid and digested shape, with copious additions.

The Author with confidence lays his labors before a military public, and those private friends who have aided and encouraged him to a perseverance in an object of interest and utility, from a perfect conviction that his sentiments and intentions will be fully evident to every candid and enlightened individual.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

	Page
Causes of the War between France and Russia	1
Military preparations of Russia	3
Substance of an Engagement entered into between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, 24th March, 1812	7
Declaration of the Emperor Alexander for the recruiting of his Forces	10
Treaty of Alliance between France and Austria*	13
Report from the French Minister to Buonaparte on Ditto	15
Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander after the passage of the Niemen	18
Situation of the French Army early in May, 1812.....	19
Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander on the French troops passing the borders of his Empire	20
Buonaparte's address to the French army on crossing the Niemen	21
Position of the Russian armies at the commencement of hostilities	22
Evacuation of Wilna and concentration of the Russian armies	23
Position of the Russian armies on the 7th July, 1812.....	25
Address of General Barclay de Tolly to the army on the 1st July	26
Movements of the Prince Bagration's army	27
Affairs at Korelitschi, Mire, and Romanoff.....	28
The first Russian army breaks up from the entrenched camp at Drissa	ib.

* For the Secret Articles of the Treaty of Alliance between France and Austria, lately made public by Napoleon, vide Appendix (B).

	Page
Alexander's proclamation on ditto	29
Affair with the advanced-guard of Bragation's army, and defeat of Davoust on the 23d July, 1812	30
Ukase of the Emperor Alexander on ditto, and ordering the formation of battalions of reserve	31
Movements of a corps of the Russian army under Count Osterman Tolstoy.....	34
Arrival of Barclay de Tolly's army at Vitepsk.....	37
Movements of Witgenstein's army against Oudinot	38
Proclamation of Alexander relative to the retreat of his armies	41
Observations on Ditto	43
Defeat of Oudinot by Count Witgenstein on the 17th August	44
Affairs at Kobrine.....	47
Ditto at Slonim'	48
Ditto at Podubrie.....	49
Operations of General Essen's army at Riga.....	50
Battle of Smolenzk	54
Peace with Turkey	61
Appointment of General Kutusoff to the chief command of the Russian armies	64
Battle of Borodino.....	67
Description of Moscow.....	81
Entry of the French, and conflagration of Moscow.....	85
The causes which compelled Kutusoff to let the enemy enter Moscow	90
Position taken up by Kutusoff	93
Conference between Kutusoff and Lauriston	94
Ditto between Murat and Miloradovitch	98
Expedition under Colonel Rodionoff for the purpose of clearing the circles of Gorodesk and Polotzk.....	103
Amicable message from Buonaparte to the Emperor Alexander.....	108
Intercepted letter from Buonaparte to the Duke of Bassano.....	109

	Page
Defeat of Buonaparte's advanced-guard under Murat on the 18th October, 1812	113
Buonaparte's departure from Moscow.....	115
Capture of General Winzingerode	116
Operations in the neighbourhood of Riga	118
Expedition against Mittau	119
Appointment of the Marquis Paulutchi to the chief com- mand at Riga, and his report of the 18th Nov. 1812 ...	121
Movements of Prince Yaschvil on Guravitchne, and Count Steingel on Polotzk	126
Capture of Polotzk	127
Proclamation on the expulsion of the French from Moscow	128
Operations of General Dochteroff's army between Gchatz and Mojaisk	133
Defeat of the French at Polotzk and Viasma	137
Assistance afforded by Great Britain to the distressed Russians.....	138
Defeat of Beauharnois on the 7th November, 1812	140
Intercepted letter from Beauharnois to the Prince of Neufchatel.....	141
Ditto.....Ditto.....Ditto.....	143
Loss of the French at Polotzk and during their retreat to Lepel	145
Position of the armies early in November, 1812.....	147
Defeat of General Barraguay D'Hilliers on the 9th No- vember, and capitulation of General Augereau to the troops under Count Orloff-Denisoff.....	ib.
Count Platoff's operations against the corps of Beauhar- nois	148
Kutusoff's Parole Orders of the 10th November, 1812...	151
Defeat of Marshal Davoust at Krasnoy.....	152
Intercepted letter from the Prince of Neufchatel to Mar- shal Davoust	153
Defeat of Marshal Ney.....	155

xiv

	Page
Defeat of Marshal Victor.....	157
Rescue of Major-General Winzingerode.....	161
Proclamation issued by the Emperor Alexander on the 15th November, 1812	162
Defeat of Dombrowski's corps at Borrisoff.....	166
General Witgenstein's report of the operations on the Berezina	167
Passage of the Berezina and defeat of Buonaparte.....	169
Defeat of the French advanced-guard at Pletchinichou...	172
Dittoat Latigal.....	173
Cruelties of the French after the passage of the Berezina	173
Captures made by Admiral Tchichagoff from the period of passing the Berezina to his arrival at Wilna	178
Buonaparte's departure from the remainder of his army	180
Defeat of the enemy near Wilna.....	184
————— at Kowna	186
Death and character of the Earl of Tyrconnel	187
Captures made by the Russians up to the 26th Dec. 1812	188
Declaration issued by Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk on the Russians passing the Prussian frontier	193
Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander	195
Order of the Day issued by Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk from Wilna on the 2d January, 1813	196
Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander from Wilna on the 6th of January, 1813.....	198
Reports by the Governors of the different Provinces of Russia relative to the burning of men and horses be- longing to the enemy who fell in battle	202
Operations of the Marquis Paulucci's force on the retreat of Marshal Macdonald from Riga	204
Do. of General Count Witgenstein's army.....	204
General D'York's corps and General Massenbach's cut off from Macdonald's	205
Convention signed by General D'York	206
Occupation of Koningsberg by Gen. Count Witgenstein	209

	Page
Operations against the Saxons and Austrians beyond Warsaw	211
Do. at and in the neighbourhood of Dantzic	214
Surrender of Pillau to the Allies	221
Departure of the King of Prussia from Potsdam to Breslaw	225
Proclamation of Do. from Breslaw	<i>ib.</i>
Truce concluded with the Austrians	226
Defeat of General Regnier at Kalitsch	<i>ib.</i>
The King of Prussia offers himself as a Mediator between the Chief Belligerents	227
Treaty of Peace concluded between the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia.....	228
Ukase of the Emperor Alexander relative to giving a me- dal of distinction to all who distinguished themselves in the campaign of 1812.....	<i>ib.</i>
The King of Prussia's Proclamation to his People.....	229
Army	232
Note presented by Count Krusemarck, the Prussian Mi- nister at Paris, on the 27th March, 1813, to the Duke of Bassano	234
Reply of the Duke of Bassano to the Note of Count Krusemarck	241
The King of Saxony's Proclamation, announcing his de- termination to withdraw from his capital	250
General Blucher's Address to the Saxons	252
The Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk's Address to the Germans	255
Edict of the King of Prussia concerning the abolition of the so-called Continental System	259
Departure of the French from Berlin.....	260
Operations in Swedish Pomerania	261
Do. at Luneberg, Mollen, and Bergedorf	262
Expedition from Heligoland to Cuxhaven	265
Surrender of the Castle of Ritzenbottle	<i>ib.</i>
Entry of Baron de Tettenborne into Hamburg	266

	Page
Occupation of the battery at Bremerlee by the British, and subsequent movements.....	267
Massacre of the peasants at Bremerlee	<i>ib.</i>
Movements of General Morand upon Luneberg, and his defeat	269
Address of Louis XVIII. to the People of France.....	270
General Von D'York and his Corps d'Armee placed un- der the direction of Count Witgenstein, and General Order of the latter	274
Proclamation of the King of Prussia to the inhabitants of the former Prussian German Provinces	277
Entry of the Emperor Alexander into Breslaw	278
Dispositions of General Count Witgenstein on the left bank of the Elbe, and grand defeat of General Mo- rand's army at Luneberg	280
Defeat of Beanharnois by General Count Witgenstein at Mockern	289
Distribution and account of the Russian and Prussian Forces after the battles of Luneberg and Mockern ...	290
Massacre at Bremen.....	295
Surrender of the Garrison of Thorn.....	298
Do. of the Fortress of Czenstokan	299
Do. of Spandau	<i>ib.</i>
Buonaparte's vigorous measures for repairing the losses he had suffered in Russia.....	300
Advance of the different corps of the French army to the Saale, and Buonaparte's arrival at Naumburg	304
Death of Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, and Letter addressed by the Emperor of Russia to his Widow on that occasion	305
Battle of Lutzen or Gross Gorchon	306
Russian account of Do.	307
Particular statement of Do.....	310
Prussian account of Do.	317
General Scarnhorst's account of Do.	320

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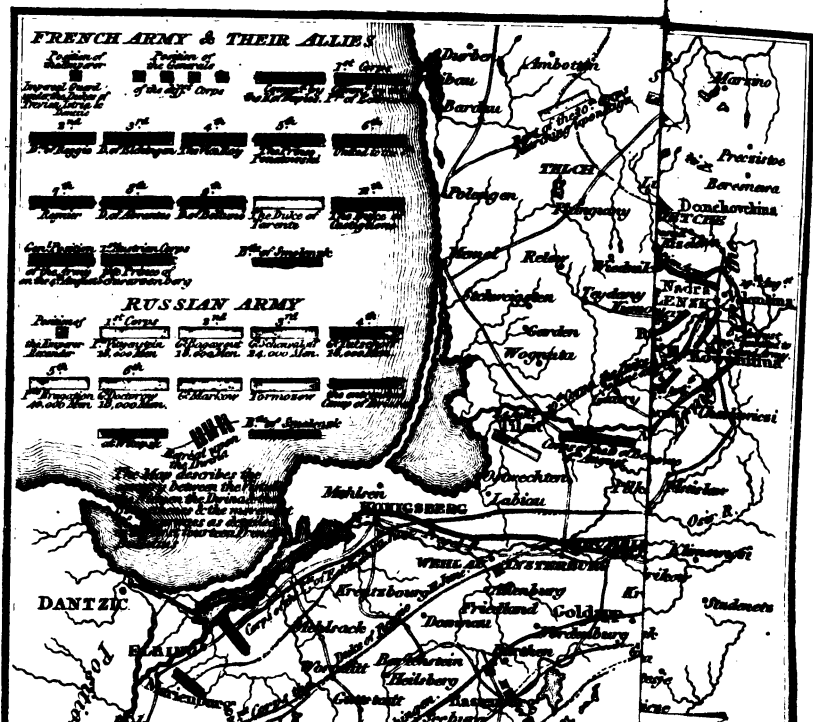


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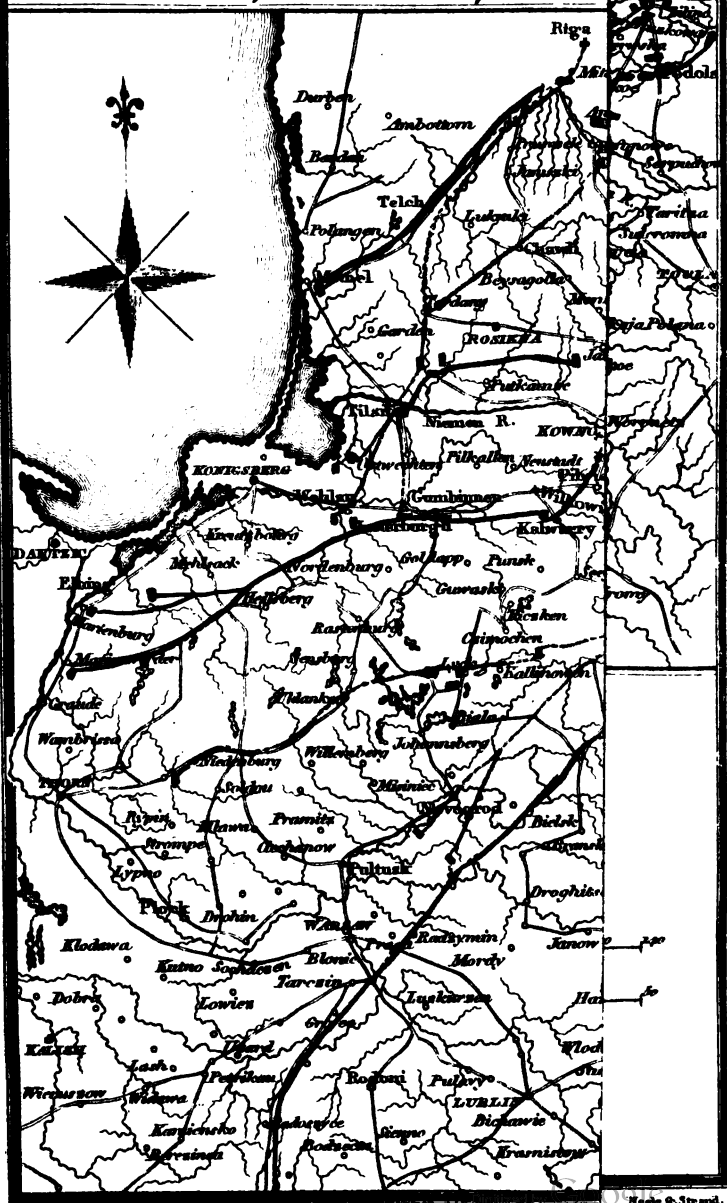
PLAN of the OPERATIONS of the A. 1812. *Copied from the ORIGINAL*

Nº 2



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Sketch of the
FLIGHT OF THE
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Imperial
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Northern Campaigns.

THE general ruin and misery which the want of commerce rapidly spread throughout Russia, obliged the Emperor Alexander to relax in a system which the machinations of Buonaparte had engaged him to enter on at the Treaty of Tilsit ; and this relaxation determined the Ruler of the French nation to re-commence hostilities against that country.—It was to no purpose that Alexander represented to him the actual pressure of public suffering throughout Russia ; that she could not longer exist as a nation without commerce ; and that he was willing to make great sacrifices to secure even a portion of trade to his subjects.—It was to no purpose that he proposed to lay a new duty of 25 per cent. on all colonial produce and goods of British manufacture, and would allow France half the revenue to sanction the measure.—To these proposals Buonaparte insultingly replied, that nothing

short of shutting the ports of Russia against British shipping would satisfy him; and that any compromise on his part would be a total abandonment of the continental system.—Alexander had already used all possible endeavours to avert the evils of war: he had suffered his relation, the Duke of Oldenburg *, to be plundered of his dominions by Buonaparte, in a time of peace, without doing more in his behalf than to issue a protest; and yet this harmless protest, against an act of the most glaring inhumanity and injustice, was now, above a year after its promulgation, considered as one occasion of offence: “the protest respecting Oldenburg annihilated the alliance †.”

The efforts Alexander determined on making were not, therefore, the sudden movements of disappointment with respect to the conduct of the French Ruler, or the struggles of Russia, driven to resistance when submission seemed to lead to nothing short of destruction.—The Court

* When Buonaparte seized upon the Duchy of Oldenburg, the Duke after publishing a farewell address to his subjects, couched in strong and indignant terms, and refusing a pension from the Ruler of the French nation, repaired to the Court of St. Petersburg, under the expectation that the Emperor Alexander would afford him redress.

† Report from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Duke of Bassano, to Buonaparte, June 21, 1812, p. 15.

of St. Petersburg appears for a long period to have foreseen, that actual hostility, and another appeal to arms, could alone preserve the independence and stability of the empire; and that the powers of Russia would be roused into action by the necessity of her own defence; yet, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, it procrastinated the day of the explosion until its dignity could no longer endure the compromise;—until its integrity and safety must have fatally suffered by delay.

Even in the spring of the year 1811, the Cabinet of Russia perceived that a war was inevitable. It had been recommended to the King of Saxony to concentrate the troops belonging to the Duchy of Warsaw on the Vistula; the conscription throughout France had been very considerably extended, and the designs of Buonaparte became daily more evident;—the Court of St. Petersburg, therefore, at that period busily occupied itself in military preparations on the most extensive scale.—Cannon were secretly sent from the arsenals towards the frontiers.—The different battalions called “Garrison Regiments,” were incorporated with the regular forces, and by the end of February in that year, no less than 200,000 men were quartered in the western provinces of that empire; while many,

it is now ascertained, of the most intelligent Generals, who commanded divisions of these troops, successively visited St. Petersburg, under the pretext of arranging their private affairs, but in reality for the purpose of conferring with the Minister at War, on the state of their respective corps.

These measures were pursued with an increased activity after Russia was apprized of the incorporation of the Hans Towns, and the seizure of the Duchy of Oldenburg, the integrity of which latter state was guaranteed by the 12th and 15th articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, on the principle that by their continuing to trade with Great-Britain, "their commerce frustrated the *salutary and decisive* regulations of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, which alone were calculated to effectually resist the principles of the British Orders in Council."

These aggressions made the strongest impression on the mind of Alexander; yet though he saw the tendency of Napoleon's ambitious designs, his Imperial Majesty did not immediately assume that vigorous line of conduct he ought to have adopted.—Unfortunately, too, the feelings of Russia were still hostile to Turkey; she had strained every nerve in a destructive contest

with that power ; and her finances were far from being in a prosperous condition.—The part which Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, might take in a contest between Russia and France, appeared for some time uncertain, and it was known that every exertion had been made by Buonaparte to engage that Prince to enter into an alliance with him.—The Russian Cabinet, however, lost no time in encouraging the manufacture of arms : 500,000 muskets, and 2000 pieces of ordnance were rapidly finished, and ready for any disposable purpose : various fortifications were erected on the banks of the Dwina ; and, upon the whole, the military preparations were much more formidable, and upon a larger scale, than those which preceded the wars of 1805 and 1807.—The organization, too, of the forces was changed—The cavalry, which used to be attached to the different divisions of infantry, were separated from them.—The infantry of the line consisted of twenty-eight divisions, of six regiments each ; and every regiment contained three battalions of 600 effective men ; forming a total of 302,400 infantry.—The cavalry were composed of seven divisions, of forty squadrons each, every squadron of 142 effective men, amounting in the whole to 39,760, besides 50,000 Cossacks, making together a force of 392,100 men.—From this enumeration

may be deducted nine divisions; two of them were to be employed against the Persians, five against the Turks, and two were to continue in Finland, by way of precaution.—There then remained 294,960 men which Russia could in the year 1811 have opposed to France, exclusively of the militia; for arming which latter force there were a sufficient number of military depôts well provided, and situated in convenient places for the distribution of arms and stores.

It will be also evident from the following document, which is the substance of an engagement afterwards entered into between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburg the 24th March, 1812; so far as the same are referred to in a subsequent treaty between his Majesty the King of Great-Britain, and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm the 3d of March, 1813, that for some time before Buonaparte invaded Russia, the Courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, had, from the movements of the French armies, threatening the Russian empire, engaged to make a diversion in Germany against France and her allies with a strong force of between 40 and 50,000 men: but, as this diversion could not be securely made whilst Norway could be regarded as the enemy of Sweden, Russia engaged, either by negotiation or mili-

tary co-operation, to unite that kingdom to Sweden. The acquisition of Norway was to be considered as a preliminary operation to the diversion in Germany. An indemnity was to be offered to Denmark in Germany, if she would cede Norway. If she refused, she was to be considered as an enemy.

“ The object of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden in forming an alliance, is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally their states and possessions against the common enemy.

“ The French Government having, by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, committed an act of hostility against the Swedish Government, and, by the movements of its armies, having menaced the tranquillity of the Empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes, and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

“ As the King of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the common cause consistently with the security of his own dominions, so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia engages, either by negotiation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages, moreover, to guarantee the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish Majesty.

“ The two contracting parties engage to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany, and the Emperor of Russia promises to place for this object, at the disposal and under the immediate orders of the Prince Royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

“ The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the King of Denmark, will propose to that Sovereign to accede to this alliance, and will offer to his Danish Majesty to procure for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish Majesty will accede for ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the King of Sweden.

“ In case his Danish Majesty refuses this offer, and shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

“ As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagements of his Swedish Majesty to co-operate with his troops in Germany, in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until Norway shall have been acquired to Sweden, either by the cession of the King of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been attained.

“ His Britannic Majesty to be invited by both powers

to accede to, and to guarantee the stipulation contained in the said Treaty.

“ By a subsequent convention, signed at Abo, the 30th of August, 1812, the Russian auxiliary force was to be carried to 35,000 men.”

As a further proof that the Russian Cabinet had long considered a war with France unavoidable ; that it perceived the little security which would be derived from any submission to the usurpation and tyranny of the French government, and was determined to resist the unwarrahtable pretensions and encroachments of Buonaparte, it may be recollected that a positive refusal was given to the demand of the French Minister, with respect to the adoption of the burning decrees, notwithstanding his repeated instances on that subject by the command of Buonaparte ; and which had been successfully carried into execution both in Denmark and Germany : nor must it be forgotten that the Russian government permitted the sale of all British manufactures, and even took measures to prevent the entrance of many articles usually imported from France, to the great detriment of French commerce, especially that of Lyons. The war with Great-Britain was also extremely unpopular throughout Russia: the greater part of the nobility derived their incomes from the pro-

duce of their estates, and which had before found a principal market in England.

It is evident, therefore, that Russia was aware it would be necessary to have recourse to hostilities with France, and as she had a year and a half for augmented preparation, her warlike means were daily strengthened; high destinies were prepared for her in the womb of fate; and she omitted no opportunity of calling into action every energy she possessed to confront the danger with which she had been so long threatened; to commence a struggle, not for honour and happiness alone, but for her liberty, her religion, and her existence.

On the 23d March, 1812, the Emperor Alexander issued the following declaration for the recruiting of his forces:

“The present situation of Europe requires the adoption of firm and strong measures, as well as indefatigable vigilance and energetic exertions, so as to fortify our extensive Empire in the most formidable way possible, against all hostile enterprizes. Our bold and courageous Russian nation has been accustomed to live in peace and harmony with all the surrounding nations; but, when storms have threatened our

empire, patriots of all ranks and stations were ready to draw the sword for the defence of their religion and laws.

“ Now there appears to be the most urgent necessity to encrease the number of our troops by a new levy. Our strong forces are already at their posts for the defence of the Empire; their bravery and courage are known to all the world. The confidence of their Emperor and government is with them.—Their faith and love to their country will make them irresistible against a far superior force. With the same paternal care have we adopted all defensive measures to secure the safety and welfare of all and every one; and therefore order, 1st, to raise in the whole Empire, from each 500 men, two recruits; 2dly, to commence in all our governments two weeks after the receipt of the ukase, and to be finished in the course of a month; 3dly, to conform to the regulations laid down with respect to the levy of recruits by an ukase presented to the senate, and dated September 16, 1811; 4thly, the recruits to be kept in the garrison towns with the garrison and interior battalions, on the same footing as the recruits for provisionary depôts are kept and brought up.

“ The immediate fulfilment of this order for

raising of recruits, during the period fixed, is entrusted to the senate."

The destruction which appeared to threaten the remaining liberties of Europe, was announced on the part of Buonaparte with so many ostentatious preparations, and, at the same time, with so much pomp and magnificence, as to raise to the highest pitch the pride of the soldiers, and the expectations of the adherents and dependants of the French system; while, in the overthrow of the Russian Empire, mankind saw nothing less than the romantic prospect of the future subjugation of Persia and India. Buonaparte had openly declared that an unavoidable destiny had decreed the downfall of Russia, and gave himself out as the Hero appointed to fulfil the high commission, according to which the Muscovites were to be driven back into the deserts of Asia, as enemies to the civilization of Europe. His renown, his good fortune, and an army of unheard-of magnitude, gave the weight of prophecy to his vain-glorious boastings. These threats were calculated to overawe and impose; and, indeed, the thinking part of mankind concluded that there was a great probability of certainty in the result of his political and military combinations, whilst the unthinking part of the community were confirmed in the

belief of his infallibility.—How contrary has been the result! and how reversed have been his imperial decrees!—The Russian army was numerous and well appointed.—Patriotism blazed forth with additional vigour in every corner of the empire, while the French bulletins proclaimed to the world that Russia was in her last agonies—her regular armies annihilated, and her troops reduced to the forced militia of the provinces, and that terror and dismay had seized on all.

Buonaparte lost no time in forming the following treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Austria, by which the latter engaged to furnish 30,000 men to act against Russia, on the condition of receiving, if attacked, an equal succour from France.

Art. 1. There shall be perpetual amity and sincere union and alliance between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c. In consequence the high contracting parties will take the greatest care to maintain the good intelligence so happily established between them, their respective states and subjects, to avoid all that could injure it, and to further on every occasion their mutual utility, honour, and advantage.

2. The two high contracting parties reciprocally guarantee the integrity of their present territories.

3. As the result of this reciprocal guarantee, the two high contracting parties will always labour in concert upon the measures that shall appear the most proper for the maintenance of peace ; and in case the states of one or other shall be threatened with invasion, they will employ their most efficacious offices to prevent it.

But, as these good offices may not have the desired effect, they oblige themselves to mutual assistance in case one or other shall be attacked or menaced.

4. The succour stipulated by the preceding article, shall be composed of 30,000 men (24,000 infantry, and 6000 cavalry), constantly kept up to the War Establishment, and of a park of sixty pieces of cannon.

5. This succour shall be furnished at the first requisition of the party attacked or menaced. It shall march in the shortest delay, and, at the latest, before the end of two months after the demand shall have been made.

6. The two high contracting parties guarantee the integrity of the territory of the Ottoman Porte in Europe.

7. They equally recognize and guarantee the principles of the navigation of neutrals, such as they have been recognized and consecrated by the Treaty of Utrecht.

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria renews, as far as is needful, the engagement to adhere to the prohibitive system against England, during the present maritime war.

8. The present treaty of alliance shall not be rendered

public, nor communicated to any cabinet but in concert between the two high parties.

It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Vienna in a fortnight, or sooner, if possible.

(Signed) H. B. Duke of BASSANO.

Prince CHARLES of Schwartzenburg.

Done and signed at Paris, March 14, 1812.

Shortly after the conclusion of this treaty the minister for foreign affairs, addressed the subjoined report to Buonaparte.

SIRE,

The treaty between France and Russia was a treaty of offensive alliance against England. It was on your return from the conferences of the Niemen, in which the Emperor Alexander said to your Majesty, that he would be your second against England, that you determined to sacrifice the advantage victory had given you, and to pass rapidly from the state of war to the state of alliance with Russia. This alliance, which augmented for France the means of war against England, ought also to have secured the peace of the Continent. In 1809, however, Austria made war upon France. Russia, in contradiction to the precise text of treaties, afforded

no aid to your Majesty. Instead of the 150,000 men which might have been put in motion, and which ought to have supported the French army, only 15,000 were brought into the field, and by the time they crossed the Russian frontier the fate of the war was decided.

After this epoch, Sire, the ukase of the 19th Dec. 1810, which destroyed our commercial relations with Russia ; the admission of English commerce into her ports ; her armings, which, from the commencement of 1811, threatened the invasion of the Duchy of Warsaw ; finally, the protest respecting Oldenburg, annihilated the alliance. It no longer existed, when on both sides armies were formed for reciprocal observation.

The whole of the year 1811 was, however, spent in conferences and negociations with Russia, in the hope of withdrawing, if possible, the cabinet of Petersburg from the war upon which it appeared to be resolved, and so obtain a knowledge of its real intentions. It is proved to the certainty of evidence, that that power proposed at the same time to depart from the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, to place herself in peace with England, and to menace the

existence of the Duchy of Warsaw, making use of the pretext of indemnities claimed for the Duke of Oldenburg.

Your Majesty, determined to maintain by arms the honour of treaties, the existence and integrity of the states of your allies, has felt the importance of uniting yourself more closely to a power to which you were already attached by words dear to your heart, and the general political interests of which are the same as those of your Majesty; for this purpose, a treaty was concluded on the 14th of this month with Austria.

Every thing promises a long duration to this alliance. It assures repose to the South of Europe, and promises to France that she shall no longer be disturbed in her efforts for the re-establishment of a maritime peace.

(Signed) LE DUC DE BASSANO.

The French troops crossed the Elbe and Oder in the month of February, 1812, and directed their march towards the Vistula.—Corps under the French Generals Ney, Oudinot, Macdonald, Poniatowski, crossed the Niemen almost at the

same time by Joobourg, Kowna, Olitta, and Mercez. The Russians had in some places added to the natural difficulties of the passage, but did not attempt a defence of the same.

Before he entered on the war with France, the Emperor Alexander issued a proclamation to his subjects, stating the extremities to which he had allowed himself to be reduced previous to taking that step, and exhorting them to the most strenuous exertions; and after the passage of the Niemen caused the subjoined address to be published.

“For a long time past we had remarked the hostile comportment of the French Emperor towards Russia; but we still hoped, through moderate and pacific measures, to avert hostilities. At last, notwithstanding all our wishes to maintain peace, we witnessed an incessant repetition of open outrages, which compelled us to arm, and to assemble our troops; though still, while we could flatter ourselves with the hope of reconciliation, we remained within the confines of our empire; and without violating peace, were prepared for defence. All these moderate and pacific measures could not secure us the tranquillity of which we were desirous. The French Emperor, by an attack upon our troops at Kowna, has already commenced war; consequently nothing farther remains for us, but, while we invoke the aid of the Sovereign of the Universe, the Author and Defender of

Truth, to place our force in opposition to the force of the enemy, it is unnecessary to remind our Generals, our Chiefs, and Warriors, of their duty and of their valour. In their veins flows the blood of the Slavonians, so highly renowned of old for their victories. Soldiers! you are the defenders of religion, your country, and independence. I am with you. God is on your side."

On the 22d of April the Emperor of Russia quitted St. Petersburg, took the command of his army, and moved his head-quarters to Wilna. Early in May the first corps, under Davoust, arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing and Marienburg; the second corps, under Oudinot, at Marienwerder; the third corps, under Ney, at Thorn; the fourth and sixth, under Beauharnois, at Plock; the fifth corps, under Poniatowsky, assembled at Warsaw; the eighth corps, under Junot, on the right of Warsaw; and the seventh corps, under Victor, at Pulawy; the 9th and 11th between the Elbe and the Oder, under the joint command of Marshals Augereau and Victor; and the 10th, the Prussian Contingent, at Riga and Dinabourg, under Macdonald; Murat had the command of the cavalry; Lefevre of the old, and Mortier of the new Guards; altogether forming a force of upwards of 400,000 men.—Buonaparte left Paris on the 9th of May, crossed

the Rhine on the 13th, the Elbe on the 29th, and the Vistula on the 6th of June.

His advance, and great numerical force, obliged the King of Prussia to join in a treaty of alliance with him, but which alliance was stated as defensive against the other Continental powers.

The Emperor Alexander issued the annexed proclamation on the French troops passing the borders of his Empire.

“ The French troops have passed the borders of our Empire ; a complete treacherous attack is the reward of the observance of our alliance. For the preservation of peace I have exhausted every possible means, consistently with the honour of my throne and the advantage of my people. All my endeavours have been in vain. The Emperor Napoleon has fully resolved in his own mind to ruin Russia. The most moderate proposals on our parts have remained without an answer. This sudden surprise has shewn in an equivocal manner the groundlessness of his pacific promises which he lately repeated. There therefore remain no farther steps for me to take but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by Providence to use force against force. I place full confidence in the zeal of my people and the bravery of my troops. As they are threatened in the middle of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy.

Providence will crown with success our just cause. The defence of our native country, the maintenance of our independence and national honour, have compelled us to have recourse to arms. I will not sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders."

Buonaparte, on directing his army to cross the Niemen, published the following address :

Soldiers ! the second Polish war is commenced : the first was terminated at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and as eternal a war with England. She now violates her oaths : she declares she will give no explanation of her strange conduct until the French eagles have repassed the Rhine ; leaving, by that abandonment, our allies at her discretion.

Russia led on by fatality, her destiny must be fulfilled.

Does she believe us degenerated ? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz ? She places us between destruction and war : the choice is not doubtful. We march forward ! we pass the Niemen ! and will carry war into the heart of his territory. The second Polish war will be as glorious to the arms of France as was the first. But the peace we shall conclude will carry its own guarantee : it will annihilate that proud and over-bearing influence, which, for fifty years, Russia has exercised over the affairs of Europe.

Head-Quarters, Wilhowiski, June 22, 1812.

At the commencement of hostilities the Russian army was posted in the following manner.—The 1st corps, amounting to 30,000 men, commanded by the Prince Witgenstein, consisting of the 5th and 14th divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, at Chawli. It afterwards occupied Rosslena, and was, on the 24th of June, at Reydanoui.—The 2d corps, commanded by General Baggavout, consisting of the 4th and 17th divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, occupied Kowna.—The 3d corps, commanded by General Schouvaloff, composed of the 1st division of grenadiers, of one division of infantry, and one division of cavalry, occupied Novtroky.—The 4th corps, commanded by General Tutchkoff, composed of the 11th and 23d divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, was stationed on the line from Novtroky to Lida.—The imperial guards were at Wilna.—The 6th corps, commanded by General Dochteroff, consisting of two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, had formed a part of the army of Prince Bragation, and lay at the end of June between Lida and Grodno.—The 7th corps, under General Tormozoff, at Loutzk.—The 5th corps, under Prince Bragation, composed of the 2d division of grenadiers of the 12th, 18th, and 26th divisions of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry, was at Wilkowiski ; and the

9th and 15th divisions of infantry, and a division of cavalry, commanded by General Markoff, was at the extremity of Volhynia. The whole force did not exceed 200,000 men, and was placed under the command of General Barclay de Tolly.

As soon as the enemy commenced hostile operations, the evacuation of Wilna, and the destruction of the magazines in that town, were determined upon by the Emperor Alexander, in pursuance of a system of retreat and protracted warfare, which should encrease the difficulties of the French army, in point of supplies, by drawing them further into the empire, and with a view of avoiding a premature general battle.

When the Russians reached Autokol the advanced Polish and French squadrons of cavalry entered Wilna, and on the 28th of June, Buona-
parte arrived at that place. The point of concentration, for the Russian armies, was necessarily at some distance from the frontiers: pursuant to this disposition all the advanced corps fell back to occupy positions allotted to them. The corps of Count Witgenstein to Wilkomir; General Baggshufuridt to Schirving, betwixt Wilkomir and Wilna; Gens. Tutchkoff and Shouvaloff near to Wilna; the reserve, consist-

ing of the guards, near to Schevenzen; the army of Prince Bragation was on its march from Slernivte-Weleyka; and Gen. Tormozoff with an army of observation at Loutzk.

The Russian armies continued to concentrate themselves, and in consequence of their plan of the campaign, Buonaparte was compelled to alter his first dispositions, which served no other purpose than to produce useless marches: the Russians had avoided on all occasions to give the enemy battle where it appeared likely to be attended with advantage to him, and by acting upon this principle their views were completely accomplished. In the mean time fresh levies to a large amount were ordered, and corps of reserve were in motion from all parts of the empire, towards the Dwina and Dnieper.

On the left bank of the Vilia the Russians were followed by the French General Bruyeres, and some skirmishing took place, but of little importance; and on the right bank of that river a body of Cossacks were made prisoners in a charge of the Polish light horse. On the 25th of June, the Duke of Reggio crossed the Vilia by a bridge thrown over near Kowna; and on

the 26th, marched upon Javon ; the 27th, on Chatoni. This movement had obliged General Witgenstein to evacuate Samogitia and the country lying between Kowna and the sea, and to retire upon Wilkomir, after obtaining a reinforcement of two regiments of guards. The following day the Russians were drawn up opposite Develtovo, when a cannonade commenced, and they were obliged to pass the bridge with precipitation, and on the 4th of July the Duke of Reggio entered Avana ; the King of Naples, Swentziany ; and the Duke of Elchingen, Maliatoui.

On the 7th of July, the head-quarters of the Russian army were near Akasma. The corps of Count Witgenstein at Breslaw, the 2d and 3d corps at Dedin, the 4th at Mawloky, the 5th at Melaschi, the 6th at Noragiodi ; and on the 11th of July, their positions were as follows :—the corps of Count Witgenstein at Rimshan, the corps under Generals Baggavout, Tutchkoff, and Count Shouvaloff, were concentrated at Widzam, the corps of General Dochteroff at Bunda, the corps of reserve at Zamosh.—The head-quarters of the Russians were next established at a fortified camp at Drissa ; from whence the Emperor issued several animating general orders.

The Commander-in-Chief, Barclay de Tolly, made an admirable address on the 1st July, to the soldiers of the army of the west, stating that the time was arrived when their standard must again be unfurled before the enemy of universal peace. The period was come when their Monarch in person would lead them to check that spirit of ambition and atrocity, which, for the last twenty years, had spread misery and dismay throughout the whole world : that it was not necessary to awaken their courage, it was not necessary to call on that loyalty and love to their Monarch, and their country for which they had been renowned ; that they were born with those proud features of distinction above all other nations—that they grew up and would die with them. But if, contrary to expectation, there should be among them any pusillanimous being upon whom the immortal exploits of those warriors who defeated the redoubted Charles XII. who humbled the power and pride of the Ottómans, and who eclipsed the glory of the great Frederick, have no effect,—who were callous to the bright examples of many warriors now amidst them—who but lately triumphed over their present enemy in all parts of Italy, on the walls of Mantua, on the summit of the Alps themselves—and who recently resisted their incursions into their empire ; if there were such, callous to the

noble emotions of a true soldier, they should be driven from their ranks, as beings already conquered without a struggle by the degeneracy of their nature. He appealed to those only who relied on the manliness of their own character; such he called to the field of honour, and whose exclamation should be, "Our God is with us!"

The enemy had hitherto directed his principal efforts to cut off the communication between the first Russian army, which had concentrated itself in the entrenched camp at Drissa, and the second under Prince Bragation, which was rapidly advancing towards the Dwina. On the 30th of June, the latter had reached Wilhowiski, from whence he set out for Minsk. On approaching that city he found it to be in the possession of the enemy's force under Davoust. In this dilemma Bragation resolved to make a retrograde movement on Sloutzk, and to advance from thence by forced marches to Mohiloff. In the mean time the veteran Platoff quitted the position he had taken up at Lida, with the view of supporting the movements of the second army. On the 7th and 8th of July, two sharp and successful skirmishes took place between the Cossacks and the enemy; the first at Ko-

relistchi, and the second in the vicinity of Mire. On the 10th of July, Platoff reached Romanoff, at which place the enemy attacked him with seven regiments of light cavalry. The conflict was well maintained on both sides, but the determined perseverance of the Cossacks finally proved irresistible, the enemy were put to the rout, and pursued nearly fifteen wersts. Count Platoff's loss was considerable: that of the enemy, however, was much greater. Platoff now formed a junction with Bragation's army, of which his force became the rear-guard.

On the 18th of July, a part of the first Russian army, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, broke up from the entrenched camp at Drissa, and rapidly marched in the direction of Vitepsk, through Polotzk, in order to effect an immediate junction with Prince Bragation; whilst the other part of the first army remained at Drissa under the immediate orders of Count Witgenstein.

On the Russian army breaking up from Drissa, the Emperor Alexander issued the subjoined proclamation.

BELoved SUBJECTS !—In pursuance of the policy advised by our Military Council, the armies will, for the

present, quit their positions, and retire farther into the interior, in order the more readily to unite. The enemy may possibly avail himself of this opportunity to advance; he has announced this intention. Doubtless, in spite of his boast, he begins to feel all the difficulties of his menaced attempt to subjugate us, and is anxious therefore to engage; he is desperate, and would therefore put every thing upon the issue of a battle. The honour of our crown, the interests of our subjects, prescribe, however, a different policy: it is necessary that he should be made sensible of the madness of his attempt. If, urged by the desire of obtaining provisions and forage, or goaded by an insatiable cupidity for plunder, he should be blind to the danger of farther committing himself at such an immense distance from his territories, it would become the duty of every loyal Russian—every true friend to his country,—to co-operate cheerfully with us in impeding equally his progress, or his retreat, by destroying his supplies, his means of conveyance; in short, every thing which can be serviceable to him. We, therefore, order that such of our subjects in the provinces of Vitepsk and Pskoy, as may have articles of subsistence, either man or beast, beyond their immediate want, to deliver them to officers authorised to receive them, and for which they shall be paid the full value out of the Imperial Treasury. The owners of growing crops within the distance of the line of the enemy's march, are commanded to destroy them, and they shall be reimbursed their loss. The proprietors of magazines, either of provisions or clothing, are required to deliver them to the commissaries for the use of the army, and they will be liberally remunerated. In general, the spirit of this or-

der is to be carried into execution in regard to all articles, whether of subsistence, of clothing, or of conveyance, which may be considered useful to the invaders; and the magistrates are made responsible for the due fulfilment of these our commands,

ALEXANDER.

The advance-guard of General Bragation's army, commanded by Lieut.-General Riefsky, reached Daschkova on the 23d of July, where it was attacked by a superior force of the enemy, consisting of five divisions, under the command of Marshals Davoust and Mortier. Notwithstanding the superior number and obstinate resistance of the French, the Russian troops repulsed them twice, and pushed them as far as the village of Nowossilka. In this place, strong by nature, and affording an advantageous position, the enemy halted; but though they attempted with several strong columns to compel the Russians to retreat from the field of battle, they were constantly repulsed with loss, notwithstanding that the Russian 8th corps, which had come up in sufficient time, could not co-operate from the narrowness of the ground, and from the same cause the Russian cavalry remained in complete inactivity. The battle lasted from nine in the morning until six in the evening. The loss of the French, according to concurring statements of prisoners, compared with

the number of dead bodies left by them during the pursuit, exceeded five thousand men ; that of the Russians amounted to nearly three thousand.

After the defeat of Davoust the following ukase was issued by the Emperor Alexander, who had arrived at Polotzk, ordering the formation of battalions of reserve in the interior of the empire, and calling upon the Russians to rise *en masse* for the defence of their country.

“ The enemy has entered our territories, and continues to carry arms into the interior of Russia, hoping with his strength and his wrath, to disturb the tranquillity of this mighty empire. He has formed in his mind the base determination to destroy the glory and prosperity of our country. With cunning in his heart, and deceit on his lips, he is bringing everlasting chains and fetters into it. We have called on the Almighty for assistance, and have appealed to him for our defence. Our armies glow with valour to crush him, to defeat him, and to drive from the face of our country all those who may remain undestroyed. On their fortitude and strength we place our firmest hopes ; but we neither can nor ought to conceal from our loyal subjects, that the forces of the different nations he has assembled are great, and that his temerity demands our most valiant and resolute exertions. With all the strong hopes we place in our gallant army, we therefore deem it a matter of absolute necessity to assemble new forces in the interior of the empire, which,

striking the enemy anew with terror, will form a second barrier in support of the first, to defend the homes, the wives, and children of every one and all. We have called on our metropolis of Moscow, and we now call on all our loyal subjects of all classes and ranks, both ecclesiastical and civil, recommending them, together with us, individually and generally to rise and co-operate against all hostile designs and attempts. At every step shall he find the loyal sons of Russia combating him with all their strength and all their means, without attending to his wiles and deceit. In every nobleman shall he find a Pojarskoi, in every ecclesiastic a Palitzin, in every citizen a Minin. Most eminent nobility of Russia, it is ye that have at all times been the saviours of your country. Most holy synod and clergy, ye have always, with your fervent prayers, called down blessings on your country.

“ People of Russia ! ye valiant descendants of the brave Sclavonians, how often have ye dashed the teeth of lions and tigers that were rushing upon you. With the cross in your heart, and the sword in your hand, no martial force can vanquish you.

“ For the first formation of the before-mentioned forces, it is proposed to the nobility in all the governments, to assemble the men they intend for the defence of the country ; choosing officers from among themselves, and giving information of their number to Moscow, where a Commander-in-Chief will be appointed.

“ Camp, near Polotzk, July 6 (13), 1812.”

The proclamations of the Emperor Alexander had an admirable effect ; all ranks throughout the vast empire of Russia appeared to have imbibed an enthusiastic spirit of patriotism, and offers of assistance in raising levies and money were made to Alexander from every quarter of his dominions. The people of Moscow proposed to raise and equip 80,000 men : the government of Smolenzk 20,000 ; and the government of Kaluga 23,000 men, cavalry and infantry : the Emperor's sister also expressed her desire to raise a regiment * on her estates ; whilst the

The following Letter was written by her Imperial Highness the Grand Princess Catharine Pawtowna (Sister to the Emperor), to the Minister of the Home Department.

“DOUITRJE ALEXANDROWITCH,—At a time when every Russian subject is inspired with love for their native country, and devotion for its Monarch, which has awakened their ardour for the greatest sacrifices ; at a time when, to repulse the enemy, and preserve the general safety, it is necessary to make great sacrifices, and use every exertion, I have not been able to repel the feelings of my heart, in taking an active part in furnishing the means of supply for our warlike preparations. After having applied to his Imperial Majesty, my beloved Lord and Brother, for his approbation and permission, I have to turn to you, and through your assistance carry into effect a purpose I have conceived from the most unbounded zeal for the honour and welfare of my beloved country, and from the most affectionate love for its Monarch. It is my wish to raise on my hereditary estates, a certain number of warriors (1200 men), to whom separate regulations will be given by me, and

nobility and peasantry of Russia all flocked to join the standard of their Emperor.

On the 25th of July, Count Osterman Tolstoy having been ordered by General Barclay de Tolly to march with his corps in the direction of Beschenevitch, that officer at the distance of three wersts fell in with the French out-posts—two of them were surprised and taken, but the third succeeded in giving an alarm to a strong body of the enemy's cavalry. The Count, however, attacked them with great intrepidity, and after a vigorous resistance they were overthrown. The impetuosity of the Russians led them to an incautious pursuit, by which they encountered a still greater body of the enemy's cavalry, and were obliged to retire with some loss upon their infantry.

whom I will arm and maintain at my own expense. I have not the least doubt but that, according to the instructions you will cause to be given, this conscription will be performed with the greatest success, and that those who shall be selected for the defence of their religion and country will, by their distinguished zeal, soon become equal to older warriors.

I remain your's sincerely,

EKATERINA,"

Answer of the Emperor Alexander, in his own hand-writing.

"I receive this proposal with the most grateful thanks.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER."

The success of the enemy induced them to advance early on the following morning in great force—they commenced an attack on the left of the Russians, which was covered by a wood, and which the enemy endeavoured in vain to get possession of, whilst another body attacked the right of the Russians posted on the Dwina.—The Russians defended their position with the most cool and determined bravery, and after a severe contest, the enemy were obliged to retire.

Count Osterman now deemed it prudent to rejoin the main army of General Barclay de Tolly, leaving a small force under Lieutenant-General Konovnitzen in front, to impede the advance of the enemy. The Lieutenant-General was continually engaged during the whole of the 27th, and repulsed the different attacks made on his brave corps.—At night he received orders from the Commander-in-Chief to fall back, and to take up the position assigned him in the capitulation of a general battle, now hourly expected, but which was prevented by accounts from the second army.

The bulletins issued by the French Ruler, so different from those that had appeared at the commencement of any of his former wars, served

but to animate the Russians, and to inspire a generous enthusiasm, which awakened all classes to a just sense of the exertions that were individually necessary. In the bulletins of Napoleon were to be perceived no denunciation of vengeance, of seizing of capitals, and of putting an end to dynasties;—the only threat he offered was to terminate the Russian influence in Europe. Buonaparte had imagined, from the vast preparations he had formed, and from the unexpected inroad into the Russian territories, he would have been enabled to dissipate, by his columns, into small portions, the military force of that country, extended along a line of more than 800 wersts, and after he had annihilated each by itself, to accomplish his vindictive design as it were by one blow. By such means only, however, contrary to the law of nations and justice, has he hitherto succeeded in vanquishing other armies, and in bringing other states under his dominion, who were deceived by confiding in the universal respect that was paid to the most sacred rights.

The French having obtained possession of Mohiloff, and the road to Smolenzk having been opened by General Platoff, Prince Bragation,

whose forces were much diminished, by numbers of the Polish troops having deserted him, and by a detachment under General Kamenskoy, amounting to 8000 men, having been cut off from his main army, determined to march upon that town, and the junction between the two armies becoming still more important, the first army left Vitepsk, and after some skirmishing it reached Smolenzk.

The enemy were harassed by a detachment under the command of Major-General Winzingerode, from the side of Welisch, where it had been posted for the purpose of protecting the St. Petersburg road, and to cover the right flank of the Russian Grand Army; and Major-General Krosnoff having with another detachment got on their flank, they were obliged to withdraw from Porechia, and concentrate their force at Rondina; and the right flank of General Barclay de Tolly's force being by this means secured, he marched forward with the whole army, and on the 2d of August took a position at the village of Wolkowa, with his right wing on the Kasplen lake, and the river Wodra in front. The second army was to have taken position at Nadwa, but having received intelligence of the enemy having crossed the Dnieper at Dubrowna, in great numbers, towards Laidy, Prince Bragation or-

dered the seventh corps, under the command of Lieutenant-General Rieffski, to cross over to the left bank of the Dnieper to reinforce Major-General Newerofski, who was stationed at Krasnoy with a detachment: the rest of the troops of the second army on the morning of the 15th took possession of Nadwa. In the course of the preceding night intelligence had arrived that the enemy, after having left Rondina and Liosna, was marching for Lubawitch, and on account of this circumstance, the remaining part of the second army, which was at Nadwa, marched to Katane, on the left bank of the Dnieper, and the 6th corps occupied Nadwa. All the light troops, under the command of General Platoff, assisted by the detachment under the command of Count Pahlen, pursued the enemy on the road to Lubawitch.

In the meantime Lieutenant-General Count Witgenstein, with the corps entrusted to his orders, destined to act separately, remained on the banks of the Dwina, at the advanced work of Pokaseuze, to observe the enemy stationed opposite to him on the other bank, and having thrown bridges across the river in the course of the night, he sent his cavalry out several times on expeditions, and which, in the course of eight days, took eight officers and about 1000

men prisoners from the corps of the General of Brigade St. Genie, and almost entirely destroyed the 7th and 11th regiments of French Yagers, the 8th Uhlans, and the 10th regiment of Foot Yagers. He afterwards received information from his detachments at Drissa, that Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, after having passed the Drissa with his corps, was on his march to Sebeche from Dinabourg; that Marshal Macdonald had crossed the river at Yacobstadt, and was shaping his march for Loutzen; and, according to the statement of a French Officer of the General Staff, whom he had taken prisoner, other troops were destined to cut him off from the road of Pshkoff. He therefore resolved to attack the enemy nearest to him, in the village Klastiga, and discovered the corps of Oudinot stationed before the village of Yacobova, at the distance of five wersts, and which was already approaching to meet him from Klastiga. General Witgenstein attacked the enemy on the 10th of August with impetuosity, and after one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements, which lasted, without intermission, for three days, from early in the morning till late at night, he obtained a complete victory. The force of Marshal Oudinot consisted of three divisions of the flower of the French infantry; they were totally beaten and thrown into the greatest

confusion, and only escaped by means of the woody places, and by crossing over the small rivulets, the bridges of which they set on fire and destroyed. General Witgenstein in his report of this battle observes: " This three days' battle has crowned our Russian army with fresh laurels, and the corps entrusted to me have performed incredible actions by its valour and its discipline, which I am unable sufficiently to describe. Whatever was opposed to it, batteries and strong columns, it has, without paying attention to the strongest and most obstinate opposition on the part of the enemy, overthrown and annihilated, by the bayonet, and by the effect of the artillery; all the villages and fields through which we passed were covered with dead bodies. We have taken about 3000 prisoners, among whom are 25 officers, 2 pieces of cannon, and several powder waggons; and both the Crown and private baggage, among which is the General's equipage, has fallen almost entirely into the hands of the victors. So soon as I shall have driven them over the Dwina, I am determined, as I attack them on each side, to turn myself against the corps of Marshal Macdonald to attack it: and as I hope, with the assistance of God, and with the spirit of our troops, invigorated by these successes, likewise to perform something, I shall endeavour to clear

the lines of demarcation allotted me from the enemy, and if this can be effected, the enemy's troops must necessarily withdraw themselves from before Riga. The loss on our side is not small, particularly in having lost the brave General Koulneff, who yesterday had both his legs carried away by a cannon-ball, of which he died on the spot; and I myself am wounded by a bullet in the cheek, near the temple, but the wound is not at all dangerous."

The following very animating proclamation of the Emperor Alexander was now published in General Orders, by the Commander-in-Chief, General Benningson, in which was evinced the steady policy of Russia to continue retiring, and even to give up Moscow rather than hazard a general engagement, except upon very favorable terms.

RUSSIANS!—The enemy has quitted the Dwina, and has proclaimed his intention of offering battle. He accuses you of timidity, because he mistakes, or affects to mistake, the policy of your system. Can he, then, have forgotten the chastisement which your valour inflicted at Dinabourg and Mire, wherever, in short, it has been deemed proper to oppose him? Desperate counsels are alone compatible with the enterprise he has undertaken and the dangers of his situation; but shall we, therefore, be imprudent, and forego the advantages of our own?

He would march to Moscow,—let him. But can he, by the temporary possession of that city, conquer the Empire of Russia, and subjugate a population of thirty millions? Distant from his resources nearly 800 miles, he would, even if victorious, not escape the fate of the warrior Charles XII. When, pressed on every side by hostile armies, with a peasantry sworn to his destruction, rendered furious by his excesses, and irreconcilable by difference of religion, of customs, of language, how would he retreat?

Russians!—Rely on your Emperor and the Commanders whom he has appointed. He knows the ardent and indignant valour which burns in the bosoms of his soldiers at the boasts of the enemy. He knows that they are eager for battle; that they grieve at its being deferred, and at the thought of retiring. This cruel necessity will not exist long. Even now the period of its duration lessens. Already are our Allies preparing to menace the rear of the invader, while he, inveighed too far to retreat with impunity, shall soon have to combat with the seasons, with famine, and with innumerable armies of Russians. Soldiers, when the period for offering battle arrives, your Emperor will give the signal, will be an eye-witness of your exploits, and reward your valour.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

Although the system adopted by the Russians in this early part of the campaign was judicious, and the event proved it to have been suited to general circumstances, yet many of the arrange-

ments were very defective. The Dwina had been established as their line of defence, yet their forces were moved forward, and arranged along the Niemen, from which, as before observed, they were directed to fall back on the approach of the enemy.—The consequence of this impolitic arrangement was, that their several corps were so dispersed in the first instance, and the intervals between each so great, that the rapid advance of the French nearly frustrated their concentration, and at all events, as already remarked, their concentration could only take place at a considerable distance in the rear. Large magazines were also sacrificed from having been established upon the advanced line, which, under such a system, it could not be intended to maintain. On the other hand, three separate corps of the Russians were followed by the French, also in separate corps, and in the course of these movements some of the latter, who knew little of the country, were exposed to be attacked with great disadvantage by the Russians, and in more than one instance to be cut off. This occurred particularly in following General Witgenstein's corps, and the too strict adherence to the system which had been adopted here operated in favour of the French. The subordinate officers were restrained from any infringement of the general instructions,

however manifest the partial advantage to be derived, and before they could report the circumstance, and receive orders to act, the opportunity was gone.

The Duke of Reggio next endeavoured to strengthen himself in the position he had taken up near Polotzk, but General Witgenstein having received reinforcements from Dinabourg, resolved to attack him without loss of time, although the French General, who, in the first instance, had been strengthened by the Bavarians, under the command of General Wrede, had now received a fresh reinforcement of the same troops, under General Deroy. The attack was commenced by General Witgenstein on the 17th of August, and a most murderous affair ensued: in point of numbers the Russians were infinitely inferior, yet the fortune of the day attended them; they pursued the enemy even to the town, and continued the battle in the streets, until the darkness of the night put an end to it. In this engagement Oudinot received a severe wound in his shoulder, and the command of his army was entrusted to Gouvion de St. Cyr.—The enemy sustained a loss of 7000 killed and wounded, and 2500 prisoners; that of the Russians was comparatively trifling. Notwithstanding this defeat, the successor of Oudinot

resolved on another attack the following day, which totally failed of success, and the enemy were again repulsed and driven into the streets of Polotzk.—In his report of these battles General Witgenstein observes—“ The loss in this battle of two days was on our part not small. Major-Generals Berg, Kasatichkowsky, and Hamen, were wounded. The former, who only received a slight contusion, is again with his corps. Of Staff and under Officers 22 were killed and 98 wounded; 1492 rank and file were killed, and 2743 wounded. But the loss of the enemy far exceeds our's. The greater part of the Generals, according to the unanimous declaration of the officers who have been taken prisoners, were wounded, and among them Marshal Oudinot, who commanded on the first day, was wounded in the shoulder, and the present commander of the enemy's army, Gouvion St. Cyr, in the hand. The Commander of the first Bavarian division, Deroy, was mortally wounded in the body. A General of Brigade, with a squadron of the regiment of Horse Guards, were cut in pieces, and a Bavarian division lost in killed and wounded, on that day, 117 staff and under officers, and above 5000 common men.

“ The loss of the remainder of the first and second French divisions, and the numerous

cavalry of the enemy, if we may judge from the manner in which our artillery was served, and the murderous attack of our cavalry, must have not only equalled, but much exceeded that of the Bavarians.

“ On the field of battle we took 15 pieces of heavy artillery; but of which, for want of horses, the damage done their carriages, and their large calibre, we only brought away two, which have been sent to Pskow. During the pursuit of the enemy from Swolna, and in these two battles, 15 upper officers, and 3201 privates, were made prisoners;—no standards were taken, as the enemy's troops no longer carry any during a battle.”

In the meantime the detachment of 8000 men, which, as already stated, were prevented from joining Prince Bragation's army, entered Volhynia, in order to effect a junction with the army under General Tormozoff. At this period the Saxon division of General Regnier's corps, under General Klingel, was at Kobrine, in addition to which place, the enemy occupied Slonim and Proujany. The object of General Kamenskoy, commanding the detachment, was therefore to reach Loutzk, where he judged General Tormozoff's force to be stationed, and

this object he was aware could only be effected by the most rapid movements. On the 26th of July, he, at a short distance from Kobrine, came up with a detachment of General Tormozoff's army under the Count de Lambert, and this reinforcement determined him to attempt driving the enemy from that town. In conjunction with Count de Lambert, it was resolved that their forces should cross the Monyavitz, and that the town should be attacked at three different points. The several attacks were made in the most heroic manner. The enemy were without an expectation of an attack, and therefore totally unprepared. On recovering from their confusion and surprise, although they perceived themselves to be surrounded on all sides, they determined on a most vigorous resistance. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which Buonaparte admits to have lasted six hours, and that the greater part of General Klingel's force were killed or taken. The loss of the enemy exceeded 1000 in killed before General Klingel would surrender. That of the Russians was also considerable. Four colours, eight pieces of artillery, and a great number of muskets; one General, Klingel, three Colonels, six Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors, 57 officers of inferior rank, and 2234 men were made prisoners.

Major-General Tchaplitz, commanding the advance of General Tormozoff's army, reached Kobrine, with a large detachment a few days after the above gallant affair, and it was forthwith determined that these victorious troops, with this additional reinforcement, should proceed against the enemy at Slonim, whilst General Tormozoff, with the main army, followed in the same direction. The enemy were, however, found to be in too great strength. Prince Swartzenberg had fallen back on that town, after the capture of General Klingel's army at Kobrine, in order to oppose the advance of the Russians in that direction. The advance of the allies were now obliged to fall back, and to wait the junction with the main army, which was shortly afterwards effected.

General Tormozoff took up a position between Kobrine and Proujany, but incautiously neglected to take possession of Podubrie and a wood at the back of the high road leading to Kobrine. The enemy immediately took advantage of this neglect, and seized upon both. Prince Schwartzburg commanded the left, and General Regnier the right; the oversight of the Russians gave to the latter a command over their left wing, which he readily availed himself of. On the following

day, the 12th of August, a sanguinary conflict commenced: General Regnier led his troops on in the most opposing and determined manner, but the Russians, though out-manceuvred, defended their position with the greatest gallantry and perseverance; the contest on their left was sanguinary, and exhibited proofs of the greatest bravery and intrepidity. The right of the Russians was defended by a deep morass, which the enemy in vain endeavoured to pass, and finding all attempts on this point fruitless, Prince Schwartzburg endeavoured, by strengthening General Regnier's wing, to enable that officer to out-flank the left of the Russians. The allies were now obliged to change their front, and the conflict continued till night, when they took up their position at Podubrie.

In the course of the night it was determined to retire on Kobrine, which movement the enemy but slightly opposed. In the battle of the 12th the loss on both sides was very great; that of the enemy exceeded 4000, and the Russians did not fall far below that number.

It has been already stated that General Macdonald's corps, chiefly Prussians, was stationed

early in May, in the neighbourhood of Riga, and General Essen, therefore, who commanded the allies in that quarter, made every preparation, not only to withstand a siege, by burning the suburbs of the city, but to impede the enemy in the progress of their efforts.—The subjoined proclamation from the governor was made to the inhabitants of Riga, demanding their united exertions for the defence of that place.

“INHABITANTS OF RIGA !—The enemy is already on the frontiers of the empire, and Riga may be exposed to danger ; but let not the future be regarded with dismay : at the same time that strength and valour protect our walls, true patriotism, the distinguishing characteristic of its inhabitants, promises security within. But to establish this conviction, let unanimity, mutual confidence, and cordial co-operation, be our law ; a law to which every true citizen will subscribe with equal cheerfulness and bravery. My determination to surmount all difficulties must depend for its success on your assistance. Accordingly, I call upon you, with the most complete confidence, to exert every resource, and strain every nerve, in defence of the town, and in that of your property and homes ; and to cheerfully answer every requisition that may be requisite to render that defence successful ; and I rely that you will never compel me to resort to the authority invested in me for that purpose.

“VON ESSEN.”

About the middle of July General Lewis was

dispatched with a considerable force from this division for the purpose of occupying Eckau, which was readily accomplished. General Macdonald had at this period his head-quarters at Yacobstadt, whilst General Grawart commanded a part of his force between Mittau and Riga. The movement of General Lewis on Eckau rendered it necessary that the French General should retreat or come to an immediate attack, otherwise reinforcements might enable the former to cut him off from the main force under Macdonald. The enemy determined on the former step, and advanced in two divisions to the attack, one from Kanken, under General Kleist, to the left of the allies, whilst a strong body moved along the high road to Eckau. The attack on both points was conducted with great spirit, but the Russians, for some time, maintained their ground, till finding their right vigorously pressed by the enemy, whose left had been reinforced by fresh troops, they retired in good order to a position nearer Riga, and the enemy took possession of the town. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, and together did not exceed 1100 in killed and wounded.

No further action of any importance took place in this quarter for nearly a month; when General Essen, finding that the enemy was con-

siderably reinforced, and that he only waited the coming up of a heavy battering-train, from Dantzic, to commence the siege of Riga, determined to frustrate or impede some part of his plan by attacking the Prussians in their entrenchments at Eckau, and endeavour to drive them back on Mittau. To accomplish this object a naval armament, already noticed, consisting of British and Russian gun-boats, filled with troops, was destined to assist. The boats proceeded up the Boldero river to co-operate with the troops from Riga and the garrison of Dinamond:—the plan was, that this expedition should take the enemy by surprise, and failing in that, to force them back from Schlock, and, if possible, to penetrate to Mittau, or to attack the enemy on their right.

On the 23d August the Russian army advanced to the attack. Notwithstanding the Prussian troops were admirably posted, their entrenchments were carried with the greatest ease by the intrepid Russians, and the Prussians driven from the works: the ardour of the Russians in pursuing that part of the discomfited enemy gave an opportunity for a strong body of Prussians to attack them while in disorder. The Russians, however, rallied, but the confusion into which they had been thrown, obliged them, after a sanguinary resistance, to quit the field.

The attack was recommenced a short time after, and for a long time maintained on both sides with the greatest obstinacy, but finally terminated in favour of the allies. The loss of the Prussians amounted to 1500 in killed and wounded, and 650 prisoners. The loss of the Russians in killed and wounded was also very great, but below that of the enemy.

The naval part of the expedition did not, however, prove successful. The commander could not proceed further than Schlock, which he obliged the enemy to evacuate.

It has been observed that the plan of operation was injudicious, inasmuch as the attacking force was divided into several bodies, which could not afford each other support, and which, as they advanced, became opposed to corps of the enemy, which by their concentration obtained a superiority of force, whereas if the Russians had concentrated their own force upon any one point, they would have been able to follow up with effect the first impulse given.

The Russian armies continued to retreat unbroken and sanguine in their cause, and to lay

waste the country through which they retired. On the 15th of August, Gen. Barclay de Tolly had received a report, that the enemy, who advanced in great force towards Krasnoy, had pushed on his advanced guards to Laidy ; and that Buonaparte had left Vitespk, and concentrated his whole force near Balemoutzchy, Orcha, and Dubrowne. In consequence of this it was immediately determined, that the second army should fall back, and after uniting all its corps on the left bank of the Dnieper, halt, whilst the first army was to take up a position on the heights commanding Smolenzk, or act offensively, should the enemy divide his forces. On the night of the same day, Lieutenant-General Rajessky reported, that Major-General Newerofky, after having been attacked by a superior force, had found himself under the necessity of retreating, having suffered considerable loss, and that he was only seven wersts from Smolenzk.—All the other accounts agreed in stating that the enemy, with his whole force, were passing to the left bank of the Dnieper, in consequence of which, without loss of time, General Barclay de Tolly immediately put the army in motion ; and on the night of the 16th, arrived near Smolenzk, just as the enemy were making a heavy attack on Lieutenant-General Rajessky's corps. Having ascertained that the enemy con-

centrated their whole force at one point, and had even drawn Prince Poniatowski's corps to their assistance, it was to be supposed his real intention was to anticipate the Russian army in Dorogabouche, or any other point by which he might obtain possession of the Moscow road. General Barclay de Tolly therefore determined, together with the Prince Bragation, that the first army should occupy Smolenzk, and remain on the right bank of the Dnieper, and by that means cover the march of the second army to Dorogabouche. In the night between the 16th and 17th, this plan was executed. The sixth corps, to which was attached the 3d division of infantry, took possession of Smolenzk and all the out-posts.

On the 17th, at one P. M. the enemy attacked the Russian troops, who were drawn up on the road from Krasnoy and other points round Smolenzk ; but, after an engagement, which continued, without intermission, for three hours, they were repulsed at every point. At five, P. M. after bringing a strong column of their forces, and an uncommonly numerous artillery forward, they attacked the city in every direction ; but all their efforts and endeavours were vain, although they drove back the Russian advance troops even to the ruins of the walls of

Smolenzk, and appeared determined to storm the city. These, however, not only defeated but drove them back to such a distance, that, at night, the Russian advance guards were placed without the walls. The attack of the enemy was very impetuous; but they received their recompence in their loss, which was incredibly great; that of the Russians bore no proportion to it, although they had 4000 killed or wounded.

The intention of the Russians in defending Smolenzk, was to arrest the enemy, and prevent their arrival at Jelna and Dorogabouche, and thereby give Prince Bragation time to arrive, without opposition, at the latter place, the further defence of which could have been no longer useful; but only, on the contrary, have occasioned the loss of valiant soldiers; for which reason, after having successfully repulsed a severe attack, the Russians determined in the night between the 17th and 18th, to leave the town after setting fire to it in several parts; (when, in the language of Buonaparte's 13th Bulletin, "Smolenzk offered the French a spectacle similar to that which an eruption of Vesuvius presents to the inhabitants of Naples:") but to retain possession of the suburbs, called St. Petersburg, and, with the whole army, to take posses-

sion of the heights opposite Smolenzk, and to appear as if waiting the attack of the French. The enemy, after garrisoning the town, skirmished the whole day with the Yagers, who were posted in the suburbs, of which, during all the evening, they attempted to take possession, but were constantly driven back. Nevertheless, during the night they succeeded in throwing a bridge across above the suburbs, and repairing the old one therein.

At seven, P. M. when no further attack from the enemy was expected, a part of the army which formed the second column, and consisted of the 2d and 3d corps of cavalry, and 5th and 6th of infantry, and a part of Major-General Newerofsky's force, under General Dochteroff, put themselves in motion, and continued their march through Sakelena, Poesklaw, and at nine P. M. the first column, consisting of the 2d, 3d, and 4th divisions of infantry, and of the first four of reserve of cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-General Tutchkoff, marched by the way of Kraepatscheni, Gedeonovo, &c. to the high road of Dorogabouche, but the troops under the command of Major-General Boroskoff, who garrisoned the Petersburg suburbs, marched on the 19th, two hours after midnight, and formed the rear-guard of the first column. General

Platoff detached part of his light troops, and formed a chain of detachments from Smolenzk to Porelscheji, in such a manner that they could approach with both columns to the Dnieper, and that these detachments should approach each other and form a mass, which could be freely used on all sides.

At three A. M. Major-General Korff having destroyed all communications with the right bank of the Dnieper, commenced his retreat in the direction of the first column, and the enemy after throwing a bridge over the river to the right of Smolenzk, began to pursue, at the same time detaching a great part of his troops on the high road to Moscow; and scarcely had the second corps passed the village of Gedensnowo, where the road divides, one of which leads to Moscow and the other to Briduhens, to which the first column marched, when the enemy drove back the rear-guard, which was on the high Moscow road; and whilst they were furiously advancing to take possession of those points, which the rear-guard of Major-General Korff's division had to pass, (to prevent any danger to this General's detachment, which covered the retreat of the army on the main road, and was still at six wersts distance from the second corps,) Barclay de Tolly ordered Major-General Prince Wirtem-

burg to defend this post with some divisions of the fourth corps, and the necessary quantity of artillery, till Major-General Korff should arrive with his detachment. Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the enemy, the Prince of Wirtemberg kept possession of this post till Major-General Korff with his detachment, joined him, and then protected the retreat.

The enemy, who did not succeed in this operation, next began to force Major-General Korff's corps, which was posted along the great road to Moscow near to the town of Valitina, and to pass troops from the left to the right of the Dnieper, above his position, to become master of the points which lead to the great road, before the arrival of the second corps.

The 3d and 4th corps were already drawn up in order of battle at this place ; but with a view to detain the enemy, the advanced-guard under Major-General Tutchkoff was sent against them. He was already four wersts from the high road, on which the second division of cavalry, and Major General Korff's regiment was obliged to pass. Not long after Major-General Tutchkoff was much pressed by the enemy, and was supported by the 3d and 4th divisions of cavalry, in

order to assist in repelling the furious attacks of the enemy.

At six P. M. the enemy attacked Major-General Tutchkoff with their whole force, consisting of the corps under Marshals Davoust, Ney, a part of the Viceroy of Italy's corps, and the cavalry of the King of Naples corps: these united forces endeavoured by every possible exertion to drive him from his position.—In the meantime Major-General Korff's detachment, and the 2d corps, arrived on the high road, from whence General Barclay de Tolly also sent a part of the troops to support General Tutchkoff. This action, which continued from 1 P. M. till ten at night, was hot and bloody. The French Marshals led on their troops in the most determined manner, but the Russians were cool and undaunted, and after a sanguinary conflict, the reinforcements under Major-General Korff enabled them to defeat the further attempts of the enemy, and finally obliged him to make a retrograde movement. The loss of the Russians on this day was very considerable, but that of the enemy exceeded it: although in the 14th Bulletin he states its amount at 600 killed, and 2000 wounded. In this affair the French General Count Guden was killed: he was struck at the commencement of the action by a musket

ball. The former had cavalry attached to their left flank, which, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy's cavalry, repulsed several desperate charges : at one o'clock of the morning of the 20th, the army put itself in motion, taking the direction of Slob-Pueva.

The situation of affairs in Russia had induced Alexander to accord with the demands of Turkey, and thus to obtain a peace with that empire. Russia had required the cession of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the establishment of the Danube as the southern boundary of her empire, but now confined herself to that part of Moldavia on the eastern bank of the Pruth.—By one of the stipulations of the Treaty of Tilsit, Russia was to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia : this had been deferred, and at the interview which took place between the Emperor Alexander and Buonaparte at Erfurth, it was determined that Russia should not only not evacuate those provinces, but that she should unite them to her empire.—The peace, however, now concluded with Turkey, afforded the Emperor the means of converting all his forces to the expulsion of the invader ; and, accordingly, the army which had been employed on the frontier, marched through the south of Poland, and united itself to the

army which had been previously stationed in Volhynia.

The following are the principal of the sixteen Articles of the Treaty of Peace concluded between Russia and the Sublime Porte :—

Art. I.—There shall be peace and friendship between the two powers, and both the contracting parties shall use every effort to avoid every thing that may occasion hostilities between their subjects.

II. Full and perfect amnesty shall be granted to the subjects of both parties, who have taken part in the operations of the war against the interest of their mutual Sovereigns.

III. All former treaties shall remain in force, with the exception of such articles which, by the present treaty, have undergone some alteration.

IV. According to the first article of the preliminaries, it is agreed, that the river Pruth, from its entrance into Moldavia, until its junction with the Danube, and left bank of the Danube from such junction to the mouth of the Kili, and from thence to the sea, shall form the boundaries of the two empires, the mouth of the said river to be for the common use of both. The small islands, which, previous to the war, were uninhabited, lying near to the left bank of the Danube, shall remain uninhabited, nor

shall any fortifications be erected on the said islands. On the other hand, the Ottoman Porte relinquishes to Russia all provinces, fortresses, towns, &c. lying on the left bank of the Pruth, and the mid-channel of the said river shall be the boundary between the two empires. The merchant vessels of both nations may navigate the whole course of the Danube ; but the Russian ships of war must come no further than the entrance of the Pruth.

V. His Imperial Russian Majesty, on the other hand, restores to the Ottoman Porte the territory of Moldavia, on the right bank of the Pruth, as likewise the Greater and Lesser Wallachia. The inhabitants of these provinces shall be freed from all contributions for the space of two years, and those shall be fixed according to the present largeness of Moldavia.

VI. The boundaries on the side of Asia shall be fixed perfectly so as they were before the war broke out.

VII. The Mahometan inhabitants in the provinces ceded to Russia, as likewise the natives of other parts, who in consequence of the war are now in Russia, may return with their property within the space of eighteen months to Turkey. In like manner the Christians belonging to the country now added to Russia, and who are now in Turkey, may, without any let or molestation, return to Russia.

VIII. The Ottoman Porte grants a pardon and general amnesty to the Servians, who shall in no wise or means

be molested for their past actions. The fortresses lately erected in their country shall be demolished.

[The remaining articles, there are sixteen in all, relate to the liberation of prisoners, the liquidation of debts, the removal of troops from the ceded places, the promised mediation of the Porte with Persia to restore peace between her and Russia, and the exchange of the ratifications.]

The happy termination of the war with Turkey induced the Emperor Alexander at this period to appoint Gen. Barclay de Tolly to the management of the War Department at St. Petersburg, Gen. Kutusoff, who had commanded the army of the Danube, to be Commander-in-Chief of all his armies, and Admiral Tchichagoff, who had been employed in the negotiation with Turkey, succeeded to the command of Kutusoff's late army.

A cause, however, of the removal of General Barclay de Tolly from the chief command, and the nomination of General Kutusoff, was a momentary change in the system of operations, the Russian army becoming very impatient and even indignant under a succession of retreats*.

* "The most difficult of all operations is a Russian retreat, such a movement being totally contrary to the principle of Russian warfare, and to the practice of Suwarroff. When Benningaen retired from Yankova, on the approach of Buona-

General Kutusoff arrived at the head-quarters at Zarevo-Zalomitchi, on the evening of the 29th of August. He found the first and the second

parte, and sought to evade the enemy by forced marches in the dark nights of a Poland winter, although 90,000 men thundered on in close pursuit, the Russian murmur at retreat was so imposingly audacious, the clamour for the battle so loud and reiterated, and the incipient disorder so frightfully extending, that Benningson was obliged to promise acquiescence with their demand, and to soothe their discontents by assuring them that he was marching to find a suitable theatre of combat. Yet when this army, wearied, famished, and diminished by the loss of 10,000 men, entered Eylau, their alignment for battle, order *regenerated* as with the British at Coruña: the memory of former glories, and the confidence of approaching victory, cheered even the most exhausted; and a spectator would have supposed that the joyous exclamation commemorated a success, instead of being an anticipation of the most sanguinary trial that was yet upon the records of this bloody war. Such was their vehement ardour to retrieve imaginary disgrace, and profit of a liberty to engage, that when, in the evening before the battle, Benningson ordered the village of Eylau, which had been abandoned by mistake, to be recovered,—and afterwards recalled the order upon seeing the superiority of the enemy, the troops refused to obey the order of recall, and rushed on to their purpose.

“No carnage intimidates the survivors;—bullets may destroy, but cannot deter.—“Comrades, go not forward into the trenches,” cried out a retiring party to an advancing detachment, “retreat with us, or you will be lost, for the enemy are already in possession.” “Prince Potemkin must look to that,” replied the commander, “for it was he who gave the order.

armies in junction, but retreating upon Gchatz, and abandoning Viasma, to which they had set fire, General Barclay de Tolly not having thought that position favourable enough for accepting battle.—Prince Kutusoff, on his part, resolved not to give battle until he should have received the reinforcements which he expected from Moscow and Kalouga.

The Russian army was thus continually reinforcing as it got nearer its resources ; whilst the

Come on, Russians.” And he and his men marched forwards, and perished, the victims of their courageous sense of duty.”

From Sir Robert Wilson's Camp. in Poland.

The following character of the Russian Soldier is given by the Hon. Colonel Dillon.

Blind and implicit obedience is the distinguishing characteristic of the Russian soldier. The love of life itself, and all the incidents, and all the contingencies that can affect the feelings, raise or depress the spirit, diversify the sentiment, or animate the affections ; all passions, propensities, and inclinations, are absorbed in this one sense of implicit duty ; which almost, with him, goes to change his very nature. Although slow in acquiring discipline, and becoming a soldier, the Russian, when once made such, stands as motionless in the field of battle as any inanimate substance ; and possesses an insensibility to danger, not exceeded by any of the brute creation. Hence, as far as the formation of a battalion or a squadron extends, the Russian troops are perfectly disciplined ; and, in point of steadiness, exceed any other troops in Europe.

French armies were getting farther from their reinforcements, and weaker as they advanced. This plan had been judged the most proper, in order to compensate for the superiority in numbers, which the enemy obtained from the immense means placed at his disposal by all the Continental states.

It was not long before this plan, directed and executed by Prince Kutusoff, afforded a grand and brilliant result. Even before his arrival at the army, he had caused the reserves, commanded by General Miloradovitch, and the Militia of the government of Moscow, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Count Markoff, to be directed upon Mojaïsk.

Buonaparte's head-quarters, on the 30th of August, were in the ruins of Viasma; on the 31st, at Velitchers; on the 1st, 2d, and 3d September at Gchatz, and on the 4th were at Gredniva, from whence, at 6 o'clock in the morning, his army was put in motion.

The village of Borodino, situated 12 wersts in advance of Mojaïsk, was the point on which General Kutusoff determined to await the enemy. The position behind the village was strong enough on the right and the centre,

covered by a ravine and a deep rivulet ; but the left, supported by the village of Semenoffka, did not afford the same advantages ; it might be turned by the old road from Smolenzk to Mojaisk. The General in Chief, to guard against these disadvantages, gave orders for fortifying that wing. He ordered some redans to be constructed on the left of the village of Semenofka, and a redoubt in front of it, at one cannon shot and a half off. This redoubt was considered as an isolated work, which, even if lost, would make no change in the system of defence, and was intended more particularly to be of service in keeping the enemy some time at a distance. These points were scarcely fortified, when the enemy appeared on the 5th, and directed his vanguard upon the advanced redoubt.—A very sharp action commenced, in the first place, at four in the afternoon, with the rear-guard under the orders of Lieutenant-General Konovnitzen, which was just reaching the position, and afterwards with the army of Prince Bragation, which formed the left.

The redoubt, which the hardness of the ground had prevented the Russians from entirely completing, was vigorously defended from four o'clock in the afternoon until night. It was taken and retaken four times by the 27th division, which

had the charge of maintaining it, and was not abandoned until night. The 2d division of Cuirassiers, which executed several brilliant charges, of which the result was the capture of eight pieces of cannon, particularly distinguished itself during that part of that day. The 6th passed in skirmishes of no importance. The enemy defiled towards his right the principal part of his forces, and covered his left by batteries.

The Russian Commander-in-Chief, who had foreseen that his left would be the principal point of attack, made the following dispositions : the 2d, the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps formed two lines of infantry, behind which were placed all the corps of cavalry. That of the Guards was in reserve between the centre and the left, which was moreover covered by the 8th corps. In order the better to insure the defence of the weak point of the position, Lieut.-General Tutchkoff, with the third corps and a part of the militia of Moscow, was placed in ambuscade behind the brushwood at the extremity of the left, with orders to act by the old road from Smolenzk upon the right and the rear of the French, as soon as they should attack, and endeavour to turn their left. The grenadiers of Count Worronzoff defended the redans.

Prince Kutusoff, immediately on his arrival at this position, had assembled the Generals, and harangued the Staff: he was received with acclamations of the warmest enthusiasm. Full of the sacred cause they had to defend, the Russian army manifested a feeling, which even then gave an assurance of the glorious deeds, of which the day of the 7th was witness, whilst every breast panted with anxious desire and high confidence after the decisive moment.

The order of the day issued by Buonaparte, is deserving of notice: "Soldiers, behold the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you: it is necessary to us; it will give us plenty, good quarters for the winter, and a speedy return to your country. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, Vitepsk, at Smolenzk; and that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride—that it may say of each of you, he was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow."

Heavy on both sides passed the night, still more heavy expectation in every breast. At four o'clock in the morning the enemy, availing himself of a thick fog, began his movement towards the left of the Russians, and on that wing his

principal efforts were throughout directed. Soon afterwards the battle became general, and continued until night. The attack on the redans was extremely sharp, and they were most vigorously defended; each Russian soldier was seen rivalling his comrade in courage and perseverance. They were disputed from 7 o'clock in the morning until 10 with an unexampled obstinacy. In this sanguinary combat Major-General Count Worrzonoff* was wounded in a bayonet charge against the enemy, and the Commander-in-Chief of the second army, Prince Bragation† was wounded soon afterwards.

* Count Michael Worrzonoff, brother to the Countess of Pembroke, and heir to the illustrious house of Worrzonoff, at the age of twenty-nine, had, by his achievements, gained the rank of Major-General, and in an action in Turkey, recovered, at the head of a regiment lately given him, the colours it had forfeited by misconduct in Austria. Europe does not boast a more accomplished gentleman or braver soldier.—*Sir Robert Wilson's Campaigns in Poland.*

† Prince Bragation received a severe wound, which shattered to pieces his left leg—he was afterwards removed to Moscow, and on the approach of the enemy, the governor, Rastapchin, had him conveyed, with the sick and wounded, from that city: he died on the road, and was buried at Yarraslaiff. He was an amiable man, and a meritorious officer, and very much distinguished in the Campaigns of 1806 and 1807.—Of his services in those years Sir Robert Wilson has published the following account.—“He commanded the ad-

Nevertheless, all the attacks which the enemy made against the left of the Russian position, as well with his infantry as with his cavalry, were fruitless, and repulsed with such loss, that towards night he was even forced to abandon

vanced-guard, and by pressing the enemy from Deutsch Eylau, and destroying their rear-guard, relieved Grandenz from blockade : commanded in the rear at the retreat from Bergfried : sustained the attack of the French in the unfavourable position in front of Landsberg : checked the advance of the French two miles in front of Eylau : his conduct throughout the retreat to Eylau did him infinite honour : commanded the advanced-guard at Eylau : when the French demanded possession of the village of Peterswalde, on his answering that he was there "to give them welcome," they retired without firing a shot.—The advanced-guard under him was inspected at Bartenstein, by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and was found in admirable order, and the huts, &c. arranged with an elegance that was quite unexpected : with the advanced-guard he drove the French over the passage before the combat of Deppen ; in the passage of the Aller at Gütstadt, with that courage, conduct, and fortune, which characterizes all his services, he withdrew his troops, and destroyed his bridges with inconsiderable loss ; thus, in the presence of Buonaparte, securing the escape of a feeble rear-guard, which, if properly pressed, must have been overwhelmed : at Heilsberg, he displayed equal judgment, retreating in the face of the enemy, and drawing him under the fire of 150 pieces of cannon : at Wehlau, after the battle of Friedland, he supported the Cossacks and Basquiers with a timely reinforcement : he was made the channel of Benningson's proposition for the armistice, which took place before the peace concluded at Tilsit."—The gallantry, intrepid spirit,

the little ground which he had gained in the morning.—His attacks upon the centre did not meet with better success. Repulsed at every point, he retired towards the beginning of the night, and the Russians remained masters of the field of battle. On the following morning General Count Platoff was sent in pursuit of him; he came up with his rear-guard at eleven wersts distance from the village of Borodino, and successfully harassed the same.

The loss of the enemy in this battle amounted in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to 50,000 men; Marshal Davoust was wounded, the General of Brigade, Bonami, made prisoner, and Generals Caulincourt and Montbrun killed: that of the Russians to 32,000; besides the two Generals before-mentioned, the Lieutenant-Generals Tutchkoff, Prince Garchikoff, and Konovnitzen; the Major-Generals Backmetioff, Rajessky, and Kretoff, were among the wounded. The general loss of the Russians in officers on this and the preceding day exceeded 1400.—The

ability, and perseverance which this illustrious Prince proved himself to possess throughout his distinguished military career, are above all praise. After he had received his mortal wound in the battle of Borodino, he refused to allow his soldiers to remove him from the field of battle until the victory had been gained.

French General, Bonami, who was taken badly wounded, was drunk *. He was the only man left alive out of a column which obtained possession of the Russian batteries, and was finally repulsed.

The Russians had engaged every corps on the 7th of September; they consequently had no reserve, and could not pursue the enemy in any force when he retired from the field. It was General Kutusoff's intention to have attacked the French on the following day, had he not learnt that their reserves had not been engaged: his own cavalry had also suffered considerably, and these reasons determined him to retreat.

General Barclay de Tolly, who had been superseded, as already stated, did not, however, quit the Russian army until after the battle of Borodino.—It has been said, and I believe upon good authority, that this officer and General Kutusoff did not agree as to the operations of that day. Barclay de Tolly has proved himself a most gallant, zealous and useful officer; but in the chief command he seems to have been too

* That a French General of Brigade should be found in a complete state of intoxication after a premeditated attack of this important nature, may appear to many incredible. I have, however, the highest authority in support of the fact.

much afraid of personal responsibility.—The Russian army owes particularly to him its improvement in system and discipline.

The most correct account of the battle of Borodino, of which the following is an epitome, was circulated at St. Petersburg.

“The Russian army continued its retreat upon the village of Borodino, between Mojaisk and Irisk, on the high Moscow road. It was here reinforced by 13,000 effective men, under General Miloradovitch, and 21,000 militia, chiefly armed with pikes, under Gen. Markoff. The total number of the Russian army, exclusive of militia, amounted to 105,000 effective men; the French army amounted to 130,000, reinforcements having been drawn to it from the military posts occupied by the enemy.

Buonaparte, contrary to all expectation, as he had omitted the favourable moment for attacking the Russians on their march from Smolenzk, to repass the Dnieper, presented his army in order of battle on the 5th of September. It is possible that the appointment of Prince Kutusoff had baffled his hopes of peace; and that he found himself now obliged to effect that by force which he was in hopes to have obtained

by the influence of fear on the Russian Cabinet. Certain it is, that he himself regretted his former neglect of opportunity, and that he said, 'I have lost one of the most brilliant occasions of my life.'

Prince Bragation's army sustained the Russian left; but it was very much advanced in front of the centre and right. A battery of seven guns on a hill covered the advance of Prince Bragation's army, which I shall in future call the Second Army.

The action began about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of September, and was furiously fought on both sides until near dark, when the enemy possessed himself of the hill and battery, and obliged the Second Army to retire and take up its position in alignment with the First Army, keeping some hills in its front, on which batteries were erected. On the morning of the 7th, the French, with all their force, again fell upon Prince Bragation; after a desperate resistance, broke in upon him, obliged him to retreat in some disorder, and the reserves of the First Army were under the necessity of moving to the left and front, to cover his works and oppose the enemy, which service was effectually executed; and the Second Army being

rallied again, advanced into battle, and in its turn supported the troops that had covered it. The Russian line was, however, obliged to throw back its left a little, so as to form an angle with a part of the centre and right. At the salient point of this angle was a battery, which, if taken and kept by the enemy, would have commanded the whole Russian position, and obliged a retreat. Buonaparte finding that the Russians remained steady, notwithstanding the tremendous artillery cross-fire, resolved to have this work carried. Various attempts were made during the day, by cavalry and infantry, but they were always repulsed. Towards nine o'clock in the morning, General Bonami had, however, lodged himself in the battery, in front of the Russian left; but General Gormouloff seizing the command of a column, (for he was a Staff Officer,) rushed upon the battery, recaptured it, put every man in it to the bayonet except General Bonami, who fairly escaped with twenty wounds, one of which struck into his breast. Towards dusk the enemy's force retired, abandoning the battery, which he had again carried about four o'clock in the afternoon, and which battery had been taken and retaken three times during the day. He gradually withdrew back upon some works in his rear, out of cannon-shot, and from thence fell back about two

wersts and a half, with his main body; giving orders for his heavy guns, &c. to retire upon Mojaïsk. The Russian army remained upon the field until the next evening, whence Prince Kutusoff fell back three wersts with his main body, and left General Platoff with his Cossacks to occupy the ground in front of Borodino.

Thus terminated, in the field, the memorable battle of Borodino; and so far it resembled the battle of Preuss Eylau, but not in its consequences; for Eylau preserved Königsberg, whereas Borodino accelerated the loss of Moscow. I am, however, inclined to think, that Borodino, theoretically, was in the field a more decisive victory than Eylau, as the Russians there quitted the ground during the same night; whereas, at Borodino, it was the enemy who withdrew.

It, however, greatly differed from Eylau in its progress; for Borodino was a battle on points,—Eylau was a parade battle, general throughout the line, and covering every man in the field with its iron canopy. The Russians had more than 600 guns in the field, but the fire was sustained by about 268 pieces.

The loss at Borodino to the Russian army was, perhaps, severe ; as it now appears, that 25,000 were killed or wounded, (at least one-half killed,) and above 1500 officers, of whom three Generals were killed, and nine wounded.

The loss of the enemy could not but be far greater ; calculation so far could not err ; but it now appears, from their own correspondence, that they estimate their loss at 26 Generals hors de combat (of whom 7 were killed), and 35,000 men."

It cannot be disputed that the immediate results of the battle of Borodino were in favour of the Russians, as they were not forced from their position, and as the French retired from the field of action. But the further results, or rather the movements which succeeded the battle, were similar to those which had taken place after victories gained by Russian armies attacked in their positions in former wars and campaigns. The victorious army not only could not follow up the blow and assume the offensive, but it was itself obliged to retire in order to remedy the disorder and confusion attendant upon a general and sanguinary battle ; and this circumstance so often occurring can only be ascribed to a defective organization of the army, which cripples

and paralyzes its movements and resources to an extent never experienced in any other service.

The distinguished veteran Prince Kutusoff, whose services had long before entitled him to most particular notice, was now honoured with the appointment of Field Marshal, with a grant of 100,000 roubles ; and five roubles were given by order of his Imperial Majesty, to each soldier who had a share in this memorable battle.

Throughout the vast empire, the sacred torch of the love of their country had awakened in each Russian their virtue and their courage. Each perceived that the contest was one between liberty and despotism, profligacy and morality: each also perceived that it was not a contest to be decided by the event of a battle, or even the result of a campaign, but by a superior vigour, perseverance, and undoubting confidence in the justice of their cause. Though a good cause is not always triumphant, yet it seldom fails but for want of prudence: the present was ultimately to be decided in favour of that party which employed the greatest vigour, talent, and unanimity: these, on the side of justice, could not fail of success.—There was no acceptable medium, no alternative, now left for Russia:

either that great nation must have expelled the invader, or her existence, her honour, rights, justice, judgment, and energy, must have expired for ever.

Two days after the battle of Borodino, Marshal Kutusoff retired a short distance on the Moscow road: he intended to make a stand within two or three wersts of Moscow, and redoubts were constructing on the position chosen, but this position being considered by him unfavourable, he, after a council of war, continued his retreat,

DESCRIPTION OF MOSCOW.

This astonishing city, comprising within its vast boundaries the opposite extremes of grandeur and wretchedness, of wealth and poverty, of superstition and debauchery, exhibits to the eye of an inquiring stranger objects of the deepest interest, and yields to the mind matter for wonder and contemplation. Its prodigious dimensions, the sumptuous palaces of its ancient princes and nobles, its stupendous edifices, whether for the worship of the Supreme Being, or for the advancement of commerce and public defence, afford abundant scope for the researches of the historian and the scholar, and impress the most casual observer with a feeling of respect and astonishment for the nation to which it is so great an ornament.

The circumference of Moscow, taken without the ramparts, is somewhat more than 26 miles. The city is distributed into

and retired to a strong position near Podolsk and Wakadesk, twenty miles beyond Moscow, leaving five divisions; the Kremlin, Khitaigorod, Bielgorod, Semlainogorod, and Sloboda. The first-named division, the Kremlin, is an assemblage of wonders; it is surrounded by walls, towers, and ramparts, on all its sides, and is filled with domes and steeples; the edifices within its bounds are all constructed with such strange irregularity, that the appearance differs in every direction, but the view from its heights of the city much surpasses any other, both for splendour and singularity, and that from the tower of St. Ivan surpasses all. The Kremlin is entered through an arched portal, painted red, and called the holy gate; and no person of any rank or description may be permitted to pass this entrance unless uncovered: so much of superstitious reverence is paid to it, on account of a favourite Russian saint, whose picture is suspended there, and who, tradition affirms, did, like another Pan, strike terror into an invading army of Poles, who had possession of the city, and were on the point of forcing this portal. The great bell of Moscow, the largest in the world, lies in a deep pit in the midst of the Kremlin. It was founded by order of the Empress Ann, as an act of piety, and was never suspended. Dr. Clarke describes it very accurately, and agrees nearly with the account given by Jonas Hanway, of its dimensions. The ancient palace of the Czars is within these ramparts, remarkable for being the birth-place of Peter the Great; the scene of the murders committed by the Strelitzes, in the well-known conspiracy during the minority of Peter, the butchery of John Narishkin, and the fall of Demetrius; there is also here a gun of immense calibre, supposed to be cast in 1694: the Russians are extremely jealous of strangers examining this prodigious piece of artillery; the dimensions cannot, therefore, be given with any exactness; it is ascertained, however, that its lip is ten inches thick, and it will admit a man of middle stature

ing the enemy to enter the city. Buonaparte in consequence of this movement proceeded to

sitting upright within its mouth : the treasury and regalia are here, and also the crowns of conquered provinces, viz. Casan, Siberia, Astracan, and the Crimea. In the palace are shewn several articles, valuable only from their antiquity, and some trifling specimens in natural curiosities, but what most attracts the wonder and attention of strangers is the famous model of the Kremlin, planned under the auspices of Catherine the Second, which would have been, if completed, the miracle of the universe: some accident happening to retard the erection, determined that magnificent princess to relinquish the undertaking. Had the work been completed, it would have exceeded in costliness, magnificence, and beauty, the temple of Solomon, the Propylæum of Amasis, the Villa of Adrian, or the Forum of Trajan. There is nothing in Europe like the various exhibitions presented to the eye in this extraordinary quarter of Moscow,—Indian, Chinese, Gothic, Tartarian, richness, elegance, barbarism, decay !—in short, it is an assemblage of wonders, and perhaps forms the most novel and interesting coup d'œil in the universe—the patriarch's palace, the cathedral with seven towers, two convents, several churches, and the arsenal, are within the Kremlin.

The Khitaigorod, or second division, is much larger than the Kremlin, containing the university, the printing-house, and many other public edifices ; in this quarter are the shops of the tradesmen :—there is a street in this division in which the houses are built adjoining each other, and the only one in Moscow of that description ; the houses are in general white-washed, or stuccoed.

The Bielgorod, or white town, incircles the two preceding

Mojaisk, where his head-quarters were established on the 12th ; on the 13th they were at the Castle

divisions, and takes its name from a white wall, by which it was once surrounded. There is nothing worthy of remark in this portion of Moscow.

The Semlainogorod environs all the other three divisions, and is encompassed by a circular rampart of earth. The last two divisions are composed of a strange assemblage of contrasted objects, which altogether form a grotesque appearance—churches, palaces, convents, wooden-houses, and wretched hovels!

The Sloboda, or suburbs, form a vast exterior circle round the whole of the divisions already described, and are invested by a ditch and low rampart. The Sloboda contains, besides buildings of every description, delightful gardens, rich pastures, orchards abounding with fruit, and waving corn-fields: these luxuriant lands are watered by several small and beautiful lakes, which give rise to the Neghua river; the Moskva, from which this various city takes its name, flows through it in a winding channel, navigable only in spring, except for small boats or rafts. The streets of Moscow are in general long and wide; some of them are paved, but the greater number formed by laying the trunks of trees across, and others are boarded like the floor of a room; there are 1500 places of worship in Moscow including chapels, the greater part of which are of wood, painted red, with domes of copper or tin, gilt or painted green; they are all richly ornamented within, and the relics, pictures, and statues of saints and martyrs are decorated with gold, silver, and diamonds. The cathedral of St. Michael contains the bodies of several of the sovereigns of Russia, and in that of the assumption of the Virgin, the cere-

of Berskwa; and at mid-day on the 14th of October, his advanced-guard entered Moscow.

It had been concerted between General Kutusoff, and the Military Governor of Moscow, Rastapchin, that previous to the enemy entering Moscow, all the valuables and property should be removed from the city; the magazines, stores, &c. which might aid him, set fire to; and that the latter object might be successfully accomplished, every fire engine in Moscow was removed: the confusion and distress of the inhabitants occasioned much property, however, to be left behind, when the French entered the city, yet, the stores of provision and arms in the depôts were effectually destroyed. Rastapchin succeeded in persuading a considerable part of the people to join with him the army of Kutusoff—upwards of 40,000

mony of coronation is performed. There is an hospital for foundlings, which will maintain 8000, founded by Catherine the Second. The palace of Petroffsky, the modern royal residence at Moscow, is situated two miles from the city; it bears, at first view, a magnificent appearance, but on a near approach is found deficient in that lightness and elegance without which no architectural beauties can be perfect. It is the most populous city in the vast empire of the Autocrat, containing 250,000 inhabitants, and is the centre of inland commerce of Europe and Asia.

attended his steps, many thousands fled from the city in all directions, and but few remained to witness the entry of the French.

The enemy on gaining possession of Moscow committed the greatest barbarities—the city was given up to pillage, and scenes the most diabolical and sanguinary ensued.—Many of the Russians set fire to their houses and perished in the flames, to avoid the barbarities of the enemy.—Very shortly after the entry of the French a general conflagration spread throughout the city: and here commenced a scene* to describe which history has no language, poetry no pencil.

* *Schiller, in his history of the "Thirty years War," gives the following picture of the horrible massacre and atrocities committed on the taking of Magdeburg in May 1631: atrocities only paralleled by those of the French at Moscow in 1812.*

"Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the debility of old age; neither youth, sex, beauty, nor condition, could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents, and the defenceless sex was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life; no situation, however sacred or elevated, was exempt from insult. Fifty-three dead bodies of women who had been beheaded were found in the cathedral; the Croats amused themselves in throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons in murdering infants at the breast. Some officers of the Catholic league, shocked at those frightful scenes, intreated Tilly to stop the effusion of

Opinions are much divided as to the origin of the fire. Buonaparte has persevered in accu-

blood. "Return in an hour," was his stern answer, "I will then see what is to be done; the soldier must have some reward for his toils." The massacre lasted with incessant fury until the smoke and flames interrupted the plunderers. To augment the confusion, and prevent the resistance of the inhabitants, the town had been set on fire in different quarters; a storm arose, which spread the flames with rapidity, and soon made them universal. The horrors of the scene were augmented by the dead bodies, falling ruins, and streams of blood; the atmosphere was heated, and the intenseness of the vapour at length compelled the conquerors to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours this strong, populous, and extensive city, one of the finest in Germany, lay in ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few houses. The administrator, Christian William, after receiving a number of wounds, was taken prisoner, together with three burgomasters. A number of brave officers and magistrates were killed. The avarice of the Imperial officers spared four hundred of the citizens from the slaughter, to obtain from them an exorbitant ransom. Even this piece of humanity, which made them appear guardian angels in comparison with the Austrians, was principally shown by the officers of the league. Scarce was the fury of the flames diminished, when the Imperialists returned to continue the pillage amid the ruins and ashes; several of them were suffocated in the smoke; many obtained rich booty in the cellars, where the inhabitants had concealed their most valuable effects. On the 13th of May Tilly himself appeared in the town. Horrible was the scene which presented itself to humanity! the living crawling from under the dead; children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; infants sucking at the

sing the Russians of having set the city on fire, and many conceive that Rastapchin gave the order from a patriotic motive ; wishing to deprive the enemy of shelter in a winter's campaign, and apprehending that his possession of Moscow might induce the Emperor to negotiate, in order to secure it from ruin. On the other hand, it is argued that no individual, sovereign or subject, would dare to resort to such a step, by which hundreds of thousands were devoted to beggary and destruction, and that neither humanity or policy could justify it.—Again, it is argued, that it was the interest of the French to preserve and not to destroy a city which afforded a winter station for an army, and that Buonaparte himself would be anxious to retain that, of which the threatened destruction would enable him to negotiate with advantage.

Be it as it may, the destruction of Moscow may be considered, in a great degree, as having preserved the Russian empire. It deprived the French army of cover, it removed a motive which might have led the Emperor Alexander

dead bodies of their mothers ! Above six thousand slain were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets ; a much greater number were consumed by the flames. The entire amount of the slaughtered was calculated at thirty thousand.

to listen to terms of peace, and it increased the general animosity of the Russians against the French, to a pitch which knew no further bounds.

Two residences in Moscow belonging to the Governor Rastapchin were destroyed, yet this patriotic character, on the approach of the enemy, set fire with his own hands to his country-seat at Voronovo, to prevent their gaining possession of it. This was a most superb mansion, on which its possessor had laid out immense sums of money. The following letter was written and left by him on the occasion.

“ I have for eight years established this country-house, and I have lived happy in it in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of this estate, to the number of 1720, quit it at your approach ; and I set fire to my house that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I have abandoned to you my two Moscow houses with furniture, worth half a million of roubles ; here you will only find ashes.

COUNT FEDOR RASTAPCHIN.

Count Rastapchin settled those peasants who did not enter the army, on his property more remote from the theatre of war.

Buonaparte, however, who, without a shadow of reasonable pretence, invaded the Russian empire, and seized its capital, now dared, in impious mockery of the forms of justice, to bring to trial, condemn and execute, three hundred Russian subjects, charging it on them as a crime, that they obeyed the orders of their Sovereign, in destroying property which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of an enemy. This was one of the most atrocious acts of tyranny that history records.—In this most flagrant denunciation of vengeance against all those who, in their opposition to the irruptions of the French, shall resort to the means in their power of crippling their advance—in this fresh and atrocious outrage upon the laws of Nature and of Nations, was another appeal to the remaining energies of the Continental states.

In a report to the Emperor Alexander, General Kutusoff gives the following account of the causes which compelled him to let the enemy enter Moscow.

“ After the sanguinary though victorious battle fought by your Majesty’s troops on the 26th of August (Sept. 7), I was obliged to leave my position near Borodino, for reasons of which I have already had the happiness to inform your

Majesty. After that battle the armies were much weakened. Under such circumstances we approached Moscow, having daily much fighting with the enemy's advanced-guard. The reinforcements which I hoped to meet with, had not yet arrived. The enemy formed two new columns, one on the Borosk, and the other on the Zwenigorod roads, with the view of acting against my reserve near Moscow. In consequence of this I could not risk another battle, the issue of which would not only have been destructive to the army, but would have reduced Moscow to ashes. In this truly lamentable situation, and after consulting my Generals, amongst whom there were some of a different opinion, I was compelled to let the enemy enter Moscow, out of which all the valuables, the stores in the arsenals, and almost all other property, imperial or private, were previously conveyed, and scarcely a single inhabitant remained in the town. I take the liberty most humbly to represent to your Majesty, that the entrance of the enemy into Moscow, is not yet the annihilation of the empire. I am making a movement with my army towards the Toula road.—This will enable me to keep open my communications with the neighbouring governments.—Any other measure would have prevented this, and also have separated me from the armies of Tormozoff

and Tchichagoff. I must confess that the abandonment of the capital is very hard ; but considering the advantages which may accrue to us from it, and particularly the preservation of our armies, it is no longer to be lamented : and I now proceed to 'occupy, with my forces, a line, by which I shall command the roads leading to Toula and Kalouga, annoy the whole line of the enemy extending from Smolenzk to Moscow, and be enabled to cut off all reinforcements marching to join him from the rear. By thus occupying the attention of the enemy, I hope to compel him to leave Moscow, and to change his whole line of operations.

“ General Winzingerode has received orders from me to post himself on the Twer * road, and to detach a regiment of Cossacks, on that to Yar-raslafl, to protect the inhabitants from being molested by small bodies of the enemy. I am at no great distance from Moscow, and as soon as I have collected my troops, I can with confidence

* Twer is a very pleasing town, it boasts an excellent society, and many places of public amusement, which are well conducted, and render the place very attractive. Catherine the 2d founded an academy here in 1799, for the education of the children of the nobles, which institution admits 250 students. There is also an ecclesiastical seminary under the inspection of the Archbishop, and a convent.

await the approach of the enemy. As long as the army of your Imperial Majesty is entire, and animated with its known courage and zeal, the loss of Moscow is not yet the loss of the empire. For the rest, your Majesty may be assured that this event is the necessary consequence of the loss of Smolenzk."

At the battle of Borodino, in the previous operations, and in the immediate movements which succeeded, the Russian cavalry was inferior in number to the French, but very superior in composition.—The Russian artillery was in excellent order, and very numerous, there being upwards of 600 pieces with the army, although not much more than 200 were brought into action at Borodino.

The position taken up by Kutusoff was nearly twenty miles beyond Moscow, near Podolsk and Wakadesk. The fall of Moscow did not intimidate Alexander: it produced in him a more fixed determination to persevere, and refuse every overture to negotiate either direct or indirect, and by a most animating proclamation which he immediately after issued, he endeavoured to inspire his subjects with sentiments

equally noble.—In it he observes, “ When the oppressed could look to us for an example and a stimulus, shall we shrink from the high commission? No; we bow before the hand that anoints us to be the leaders of the nations in the cause of freedom and of virtue.”

Soon after his arrival at Moscow, Buonaparte dispatched the French General Lauriston to the Russian Commander-in-Chief with the view of opening a negociation. The following is a minute of the singular and entertaining conference that took place.

Lauriston was received by Prince Kutusoff in the midst of all his Generals.—He opened the conference by saying, that he had been sent to demand an armistice, and to beg the Prince to transmit to his Majesty a letter from Buonaparte, which would contain proposals for peace, in order to cause the cessation of that horrible effusion of blood, which had been shed with so much desperation and barbarity.

The Prince replied, that he was not authorised to receive any proposal either for peace or armistice; and that unquestionably he would not receive any letter addressed to his Majesty; that, besides, it was his duty to declare that the Rus-

sian army was in possession of too many advantages to throw them away by an armistice of which it had no need.

Lauriston observed, that the war must one day come to a termination, for it could not last for ever, especially in the barbarous manner in which it was conducted.

Prince Kutusoff replied, that barbarism had been introduced into hostilities by the French revolutionists, and followed up to the greatest extent by Buonaparte himself. It was true, that the war could not be eternal, but peace could never be talked of till the French were beyond the Vistula. That Russia had not provoked the war; for the Emperor, by falling with all his forces on the magazines and troops in Poland, might have annihilated all the preparations of Buonaparte on the other side of the Vistula, before he was in readiness to commence it; but his Majesty wished neither to disturb the existing tranquillity, nor to be the aggressor, and to the last hoped to preserve peace: that Buonaparte had entered Russia even without a declaration of war, and devastated a great part of the empire: that he had nothing to do but to get out of Moscow how he could, since he came thither without being invited; while, on our side, it became our

duty to do him as much mischief as possible: that when he proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, the Russians viewed it as only commencing ; if he did not know this already, he should soon be taught it by experience.

Lauriston.—“ Since, then, there is no hope of peace, it will doubtless be necessary to march ; but in departing, it will again be necessary to shed the blood of men who are always brave, *since your armies are marching on all sides.*”

“ I again repeat to you,” replied the Prince, “ you of course will adopt such measures as you can, in order to get off,—and we to prevent you. For the rest, the time will come, perhaps, when *we* may arrange matters for your departure, should that be the only subject of discussion.”

Lauriston still uttered complaints with regard to the bitterness and fury which had been excited in the people, in order to banish all hope of accommodation, by attributing to the French the conflagration and ruin of Moscow, while the inhabitants themselves were the authors of that calamity.

The Prince replied, that it was the first time he had ever heard of complaints being made

against the enthusiasm and devotion to their country, of a whole people who defended their homes against an enemy by whom they were attacked, and who, by so doing, had excited that animosity and fury now complained of, but which, on the contrary, could not be too highly appreciated and extolled. "With regard to the burning of Moscow," said the Prince, "I am too old,—I have had too much experience in war, and possessed too much of the confidence of the Russian people, not to be daily and hourly informed of what was passing in Moscow. I myself ordered the destruction of some magazines; but from the arrival of the French at Moscow, the Russians destroyed nothing but the stores of the cartwrights, when you adopted the resolution of seizing them, by distributing the carriages at your pleasure: the inhabitants caused very few conflagrations. You proceeded systematically in the destruction of that capital, fixing the particular days, and marking out the quarters which were to be set on fire at fixed periods. I have had an exact account of the whole; it has been followed with precision; and one proof that it was not the inhabitants who ruined Moscow is, that you destroyed with cannon-shot the houses, and other edifices, built with too much solidity, hurling balls against them amidst the flames. Undoubtedly

we shall endeavour to revenge ourselves.—Our conference is closed.”

Certainly Lauriston had no reason to be satisfied with its issue. The French had been long accustomed to arrange matters of this sort in a *tête-à-tête*, or by an amicable interview; but here more than thirty persons were witnesses, on the one hand, of the dignity of the Russian Marshal, and on the other, of the crafty conduct of General Lauriston.

The following is stated to be the sketch of a conversation between Murat and General Miloradovitch, which took place at the advanced posts of the Russian and French armies, on the 11th October 1812.

After the usual compliments—

Murat—Are you informed, General, of the excesses committed by your Cossacks? They fire upon the foragers whom I send out in different directions—even your peasants, supported by them, massacre our insulated hussars.

Miloradovitch—I am delighted that the Cossacks strictly obey the orders given them. It is also most satisfactory for me to learn, from your

Majesty's mouth, that our peasants shew themselves worthy of the name of Russians.

Murat—It is contrary to all the hitherto received rules of war; and from this harsh state of things, I shall be compelled to send out columns to the right and left, to protect the foragers.

Miloradovitch—So much the better, Sire: my officers complain of having been three weeks in inaction. They burn with impatience to take cannon, colours—

Murat—But why seek to embitter two nations, formed to esteem each other in so many respects?

Miloradovitch—My officers and myself are ready to give you all possible marks of our esteem; but, Sire, your foragers are always taken, and the columns which you may send to the right and left, to protect them, shall be beaten.

Murat—You are passionate in words, General, but words do not beat an enemy. Cast your eye on the map; you will there see the country we have conquered, and how far we have penetrated.

Miloradovitch—Charles XII. penetrated still farther; he reached Pultowa.

Murat—The French army has been constantly victorious.

Miloradovitch—But we have never fought except at Borodino.

Murat—That victory opened to us the gates of Moscow.

Miloradovitch—I beg your pardon, Sire, Moscow was abandoned to you.

Murat—At any rate we are masters of your ancient and immense capital.

Miloradovitch—Yes, Sire, and it is an afflicting thought to every Russian, to myself in particular; I did every thing for the salvation of Moscow. Russia has made to you an immense sacrifice; but she already begins to reap the advantages attached to it.

Murat—How?

Miloradovitch—I perceive that Napoleon has sent Lauriston to our General-in-Chief, to treat of peace. I know that your soldiers are reduced to satisfy themselves for sixty hours, with what is scarcely sufficient to support a man for twenty-four.

Murat—The passports sent to you were a farce.

Miloradovitch (continuing)—I see that the King of Naples has come to General Miloradovitch to beg quarter for his foragers, and to set on foot a sort of negociation to calm the soldiers.

Murat (piqued)—My visit was purely accidental ; and I meant only to inform you of abuses committed by your troops. Want of discipline is a great misfortune to an army : it has often been its ruin.

Miloradovitch—But in that case you ought rather to encourage it. Precious want of discipline, which makes us shoot the French foragers.

Murat—You greatly deceive yourself with regard to our position. Moscow is abundantly supplied with every thing : we expect immense reinforcements, which are already on their road.

Miloradovitch (laughing)—Do you, then, think us farther removed from our reinforcements than you are from your's ?

Murat—I have also to complain on a very essential point : I appeal, General, to your

justice, and your sense of equity—you have twice fired on our flags of truce.

Miloradovitch—Sire, we want not to hear of parleys. We want to fight, and not to negotiate. Take your measures accordingly.

Murat—What! at that rate I am not safe even here.

Miloradovitch—You would run a risk, Sire, by coming a second time; but to-day I shall have the honour of accompanying you myself as far as your videttes.

The General here called for his horse; and Murat, struck with what passed, observed, that he had never heard of such a mode of making war. The General replied, he must have heard of it in Spain; and this unexpected retort induced Murat to change the conversation, and politely ask the General, where he had first served in that capacity?

Miloradovitch—Surely France must still recollect the campaign of Suwarroff, in Italy. I had the honour there often to command the advanced-guard of the Generalissimo.

Murat and the General then separated, after shortly conversing about the death of Prince Bragation.

In the meantime the troops under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Witgenstein incessantly harassed the enemy: he detached cavalry upon expeditions to divers places, and even into his rear, all which were successful; but above all others, an expedition which he sent out to clear the circles of Gorodezk and Polotzk from the marauders, succeeded in an eminent manner, and destroyed the magazines of provisions which the enemy had established. This was under the command of the Cossack Colonel Rodionoff, and consisted of 200 Cossacks of his own regiment, and a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Nepeizyn, of three squadrons of dragoons from the regiments of Jamburg, Riga, and Ingermanland. On the 20th of September they passed through Shelzy, with intent to cut off all parties and patrols from the road which has been lately made there. On the road near to Shelzy they fell in with an enemy's party of 80 men of the horse yagers of the 23d and 24th regiments, who were going to Swino, to receive the provisions collected there by the Commissary at War. This

small party was, by command of Colonel Rodionoff, instantly attacked by the Cossacks, who killed above 40, and took 21 men, and their Commanding Officer.

Colonel Rodionoff hereupon immediately sent a large foraging party to Swino, to take the enemy and provisions at that place, which was likewise punctually performed by the Commanding Officer, who on his arrival there took three Commissaries at War, and some privates, and found about 2000 measures of flour, which he (not having any waggons to bring it away) totally spread about, and threw into the water, so that not the least part of it was left for the enemy. In expectation of this, Colonel Rodionoff had remained at Shelzy, from whence he now, at midnight, departed for Kosjany, as he knew that there was a considerable number of light cavalry at that place. The difficulties of the road were very great, occasioned by its crossing streamlets, morasses, and woods, in many parts of which the road was cut up; but all these difficulties could not detain the Russian warriors. Near the village of Gorowatno they were received with a fire of musketry from an enemy's detachment of 300 men, in ambush, commanded by a Lieutenant and a Commissary at War, but their fire was unsuccessful, and the Russian detachment

surrounded the village, broke into it, threw themselves on the enemy, and cut several of them down; the remainder set fire to the stores they had with them, and hid themselves in the wood.

This gallant detachment afterwards proceeded on the way to Kosjany, and arrived there on the 21st, about an hour before day-break. The enemy, relying on his force being so much superior, and on his advantageous position, prepared to force them back. His piquets, which were placed in the wood, and could not be surrounded, had given information of the arrival of the troops. Although, by these precautions, the attack was dangerous, yet the Russians determined on making it, and one of the most intelligent officers, after having made his approach with the detachments, was directed to cut off the enemy's road to Polotzk. Another part of the Cossacks were to throw themselves impetuously on the Field-Guards, cut their way through them, and take possession of the road leading to Vitepsk. The Lieutenant of the Quarter-Master's Staff, Parentzoff, was directed to guard the bridge over the river Obela, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat to Gorodka, and not suffer those in the village on the other side the river to come to their assistance. The

Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, Nepeizyn, who had three squadrons of dragoons under his command, was to leave one squadron and some Cossacks behind as a reserve; and with two squadrons and the rest of the Cossacks charge the centre of the enemy at full gallop, as being the strongest part of his position.—This he performed in the most exemplary manner; he led the squadrons on, and personally cut into the enemy's front, threw six squadrons into disorder, and routed them. Major Buktowitch, of the Jamburg regiment of dragoons, likewise greatly signalized himself on this occasion.

Although, by reason of the day not being quite broke, the dispositions of Colonel Rodionoff could not be executed quite accurately, yet nothing could resist the valour of the Russians. The enemy's front, which consisted entirely of French troops, could not stand their attack: they fell into disorder, and fled with the greatest celerity on all sides; but they found that all the roads were already in the possession of the Russian troops, and thus the numerous bodies of the enemy were forced to endeavour to find an outlet towards Polotzk. Even here he was pursued with almost the speed of lightning by Count Witgenstein's whole force, which had attacked him in the centre, as well as by those who had cut him

off from the roads of Polotzk and Vitepsk, for the distance of nearly seven wersts.

The enemy lost eight officers and upwards of 400 men killed on the field of battle, and in the pursuit. The whole road was covered with the enemy's dead bodies, and men mortally wounded. The 3d light regiment of the enemy's cavalry was totally cut to pieces, and the other detachments of cavalry which were attached to it likewise suffered very great loss. Besides this, the Russians made prisoners in all these engagements, Lieutenant-Colonel Tinel, of the 3d light regiment of cavalry, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 4 commissaries at war, and 134 private soldiers.

The armies of the Emperor Alexander were now every day receiving fresh accessions of strength, while the situation of Buonaparte became more and more precarious, and his communications on the side of Smolenzk menaced by a formidable force of 100,000 men, under Tormozoff and Tchichagoff; and on the Dwina a victorious army under General Witgenstein. The arrival of his army in Moscow was an event which Buonaparte had regarded as the termination of his labours, and the completion of his ambitious hopes; but he early perceived his situation perilous in the extreme, and how egre-

giously he had failed in his scheme of tyranny, conquest, and ambition.

Almost immediately after entering Moscow, Napoleon sent a message to the Emperor Alexander, couched in the most amicable and even familiar terms. He therein stated, "that there was nothing he desired more than to renew his friendship with the emperor, for whom he had ever cherished the highest esteem, and with whose personal wishes he should at all times be happy to comply; that had Alexander requested him not to enter Moscow, he would not have entered it; that he was even now ready to quit the spot, and retire to Viazma, if such was the desire of a Sovereign whom he was anxious to oblige. In short, that if Alexander desired peace, he had only to say so, and peace should that instant be concluded."—This bait would have taken with almost any individual sooner than with the Emperor of Russia. He well remembered the fawning looks, the flattering words, the feigned humility of Tilsit, and he felt that it was not for Sinon to betray a second Troy. Buonaparte, however, published his pacific proposals throughout the country around Moscow, and made every exertion to induce the flying inhabitants to return to their homes, but without effect.

The following is an intercepted letter written by Buónaparte to the Duke of Bassano, from Moscow, and dated the 16th of October.

“ Duke of Bassano,—I have with me at this place two Prussian regiments, which have distinguished themselves in the advanced-guard of the Grand Army, but which, as may be expected, have suffered severely: might not the King of Prussia relieve these two regiments by two others, fresh and well mounted? The former could then return to Prussia, and become fit for service again. The King would be a gainer by this arrangement in every respect, since there would not then be occasion to make such an immediate expenditure to remount these regiments, and it would besides add to the number of his skeleton regiments which have been disciplined and practised in grand manœuvres. I have given to the Prussian contingent its natural direction, by sending it to Riga; but I should wish greatly that the aid of my 7th division was no longer necessary in that quarter. I wish to know, therefore, from the King of Prussia, whether he would not make an augmentation of 1000 cavalry and 6000 infantry, which might proceed to Riga, and take the place of the 7th division: the King may easily draw these troops from Koningsberg, Colberg, and Grandenz, and

thus they could arrive in a few days. These last would be replaced by those which might be drawn from a greater distance, by rendering effective some skeleton regiments, or ordering troops from Silesia; in this manner the King of Prussia would form a cordon of 4000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry.

“ It will be an easy matter for you to make him comprehend that it is his own interest that this war should be terminated quickly; because, in the meantime, he must be greatly inconvenienced by this struggle; and that there is only one effectual way of bringing the same to a termination, which is, to shew to Russia, by the powerful means which the Emperor possesses of recruiting his armies, not only in his own states, but by the succours furnished by his allies, that the hopes she cherishes of ruining the army are void of foundation, and perfectly illusory.

“ The same language must be held to Austria, the same to Bavaria, at Stutgard, and every where else. I not only desire that reinforcements be sent to me, but I also wish that their force may be exaggerated; and that those Sovereigns do order to be inserted in their Gazettes, not only the great number of troops which they

send off, but that also they double the number in their statements; and it is to be well understood, that the Prussian corps at present at Memel is not to be included in these reinforcements. I pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Buonaparte, at this period, laboured to persuade the world that he was well accommodated and amply supplied in his positions, though at the same time he laboured, no less assiduously, to improve his accommodations*, and to aug-

* As the French army advanced, battalions of carpenters, masons, joiners, &c. followed, for the purpose of building new towns and villages; many hundreds of gardeners also had been put in requisition in Germany, particularly in Saxony; and the deserts of Asia were already in idea transformed into orchards, plantations, and kitchen-gardens, &c. The Emperor could not, however, unfortunately, commence building new towns and villages, during his short stay at Moscow, and the deserts remained deserts. The gardeners intended to dig, plough, and sow, plundered and devastated the flourishing, beautiful gardens of Moscow, and bivouac'd in orange-woods, which they afterwards set fire to.—The masons and carpenters intended to build, were obliged to work at the mines, which were to blow up the old and venerable walls of the Kremlin: thus was the original intention for which these mechanics and artists had been destined reversed: nor less wonderful was the change in the fate of the whole army, and the plans of its great commander, so that the result of this cam-

ment his supplies. The great desire he entertained to conceal any disasters his armies should experience, was rendered more evident by an order published under his direction in all the departments of Westphalia, on the 1st of August, by virtue of which, every individual who talked

paign may be very justly called *a. reverse*; and it was, perhaps, under the impression of a pre-sentiment of such a finale to the campaign, that Marshal Berthier expressed himself in the following words to the King of Westphalia, in a letter of the 4th of July (New Style).—"As you, Sire, understand every instruction which is given you in an opposite sense, it cannot fail but every thing must be reversed."—It will not be denied that the Marshal could prophecy with great accuracy, and read the events of futurity better than Napoleon, who in the mysterious book of fate had already discovered the destruction of Russia, which discovery he communicated to all Europe.

After the destruction of Moscow, Buonaparte made a requisition for 2500 artisans from Paris.—An architect, who had arrived only a short time at Wilna, received an order in the beginning of October to collect all carpenters, masons, painters, &c. &c. &c. belonging to the army, and to betake himself with them, without delay to Moscow.—The architect made preparation for the journey with every possible dispatch and *eclat*: he every where reported that he was called upon to *rebuild* Moscow, and many envied his great appointment.—At length the architect commenced his journey, but on reaching Minsk, he and all his companions fell into the hands of the Cossacks, and he has now time to consider the best plan for the structure which he was to execute.

concerning intelligence respecting the situation of the armies in the North, unless such intelligence was official, or published in the Journals authorised by the Government, was immediately to be arrested, subjected to an examination, and remain in prison till he stated who transmitted the news to him.

Impeded in his efforts by the Generals Winzingerode and Kutusoff, on the north and on the south, after throwing two large bodies of 7000 men each on the northern road, he attempted a decisive blow on the south, by reinforcing the advanced-guard under Murat (which had manœuvred in that direction for above three weeks) to 45,000 men. It was intended that Victor, with his corps from Smolenzk, should join Murat; but Kutusoff judiciously anticipated this movement, by attacking the latter, who was too far from Moscow to receive timely support from the main army.

On the 18th of October Field-Marshal Kutusoff learnt that the corps of Victor had quitted Smolenzk to reinforce the Grand Army. He had been joined by 60,000 recruits, and therefore immediately resolved to attack the advanced-guard, under the orders of Murat, on the river Tschernestina, being 45,000 strong, in

face of the Russian troops, in order to defeat the same before the junction of Victor, and before Napoleon could support him with the main body of his army. The Russian main army advanced from Tarushina to the Nara in several columns, which were followed by the right wing on the following night. All these troops crossed the Nara, under the command of General Benningson, who had proved himself of great service to Kutusoff, by his cordial co-operation, whilst the remainder of the army followed his movements by the main road. Before day-break these troops had reached the appointed place, together with the 2d, 3d, and 4th corps of infantry; they passed, in the same order, through a forest, from which they rushed upon the enemy. The Cossacks, under the command of Count Orloff-Denisoff, who had almost turned the enemy's left wing, and were reinforced by several corps of cavalry, under General Miller-Zakomelsky, with the 2d, 3d, and 4th corps of infantry, fell upon the unguarded enemy with such impetuosity, that the latter could not maintain his position for any length of time; but very soon betook himself to flight: the light troops pursued him with artillery, heavy cavalry, and infantry, as far as the borough of Voronova. The enemy's loss, on that day, was 1000 prisoners and about 2500 killed, a standard

of honour belonging to a regiment of cuirassiers, 38 pieces of cannon, 40 ammunition waggons, and the whole of their baggage, including that of the King of Naples, taken. The loss of the Russians, only 300 men, was enhanced by that of the brave Lieutenant-General Baggavout, who fell at the beginning of the battle. General Benningson also received a slight wound from a shot, which, however, did not prevent him from continuing in the command, even until the pursuit. This victory, however, was but the prelude to events of still greater importance.—Prince Poniatowski, who commanded the 5th corps of the French army, was wounded, and Generals Joinville, Moncey, and Daru, were made prisoners. The loss of the French cannon was in great measure owing to the weather being uncommonly bad, and the roads so cut up, as to be almost impassable. The horses of the French cavalry, from want of forage, and not being inured to the climate, were feeble, and scarcely fit for service, whilst the Russian horses were in good condition.—On the following day, the 19th, Buonaparte quitted Moscow, leaving a garrison in the Kremlin, under the command of Mortier.

On the 22d, the corps under General Winzingerode, who had succeeded to the Prince

Bragation's command, attacked the enemy's out-posts in the city with great impetuosity, and compelled them to retreat: but in pursuing the enemy to the Kremlin, General Winzingerode separated from his corps, and hastened forward to persuade the hostile Commander to cease a useless firing, which could not hinder them from taking the town. This temerity was the cause that this brave and esteemed General, together with the Captain of cavalry Narishkin, were suddenly seized by a detachment of the enemy, which suffered them to come quite near, without paying any attention to the white handkerchiefs which they waved as flags of truce, and thus they were taken prisoners. Hereupon General Iloviaskoy pursued the dispositions which Winzingerode had previously directed; took the Kremlin, and the whole city, in which the enemy left his hospitals, containing not less than 15,000 sick and wounded soldiers, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The Governor of Riga, General Essen, had now remained for upwards of a month since the affair of the 23d of August, with the Prussians, without undertaking any active operation.—The position he had taken up was formidable, and

the enemy instead of making any attempt to molest him withdrew a principal part of their forces from Mittau.

In a dispatch of General Essen's at this period, are the following observations.

“ The French have hitherto confined themselves to a strict blockade of this fortress ; but though their heavy artillery has arrived at Mitau, they do not make preparations to commence the siege in form. At present they have actually fortified the positions they hold, as if they were afraid of being attacked ; or rather as if we were the besiegers, and they the besieged. They expect to derive facilities in their approaches to this place from the cold weather ; but, as I am informed that their troops already complain of the hardships they endure, they will be retained with difficulty in the depth of winter in so arduous a duty.

“ The Prussian officers whom I have made prisoners, tell me that they are restrained from quitting the service by the threats that their families would be imprisoned, their property confiscated, and themselves outlawed. Both officers and men have likewise long arrears of

pay, which are withheld to bind them to the service.

“ I have rendered this fortress as defensible as time and circumstances would admit, and am determined to defend it to the utmost of my power. With the blessing of God, the enemy shall never obtain possession of it, but find a grave beneath its walls.

“ I cannot conclude without bearing testimony to the conduct of the English naval officers and seamen, our brave allies: they have performed the most essential services to his Imperial Majesty in this quarter. Their courage prompts them to undertake the most hazardous enterprizes, which their skill and foresight enable them to execute with success. In every danger they are foremost, and in every difficulty capable of counselling. I have derived great assistance from them.”

The movement of the enemy from Mittau was no sooner known to General Essen, than he determined on an attempt to take possession of it.—His plan of operations succeeded, and on the 29th of September he possessed himself of the town.—Several pieces of ordnance and

ammunition, depôts of provision, and an abundance of furs were found in this place.

Some gun-boats under the command of English officers, had accompanied a strong division of forty Russian boats, besides the launches, under the command of Admiral Muller, up the river Aa, to co-operate with the military against Mittau. The enemy had withdrawn his troops from Scholock and his other posts, on the approach of the boats; they, therefore, did not meet with any opposition until they arrived within about five miles below Mittau; the enemy had there placed three different booms across the river, about half a mile distant from each other. Within pistol shot of the third boom, which was very strong, and well constructed, were placed three batteries of four guns each. The booms were soon destroyed, and as the boats arrived up, the enemy abandoned their positions with such precipitation, that five twenty-four pounders were left in the works.—The flotilla arrived at Mittau about noon. The Prussians retired from Olai upon Bourski, where they had about one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon intended for the siege of Riga: they there received reinforcements on the 29th, which Macdonald had sent them from Jacobstadt.

Immediately after the allies became masters of Mittau, the Prussian General D'York directed General Grawart to advance on Riga, whilst he moved in great force on Mittau.—The Russians were now obliged to abandon the town, and retreat in the direction of Riga, by which General Essen expected to fall in with a division under Lieutenant General Steingel, who was manœuvring in front of that part of the enemy's army under General Grawart, which was advancing towards Riga.—The allied troops having retired, the flotilla left Mittau on the evening of the 30th, and after destroying a bridge which had been erected to facilitate the crossing of the troops and artillery, arrived at Dinamond on the 2d of October.—The advanced-guard of General Steingel's force, consisting principally of Cossacks, was placed under the orders of Major-General Veliaminoff, at the village of Garossen.—The enemy on the 31st of September commenced a severe attack upon the advanced-guard, which was kept up with the greatest fury for several hours—night put an end to the conflict, and the enemy retired from the field.—Other affairs, but of minor importance, succeeded, in which the allies were partially successful.

The Marquis of Paulutchi was about this period appointed to the chief command at Riga : he immediately directed General Lewis to move with a corps to Kirkgolm, on the right bank of the Dwina, to prevent the enemy from making inroads into Livonia, as well as to cover Riga on that side.

The following is a report of the Marquis's operations to his Imperial Majesty, dated from Riga, November 18.

In my report of the 3d (15th) November, I had the happiness of informing your Imperial Majesty of the taking of the town of Kreuzburg, by Major Filatoff. At the same time, I made an humble representation of my intention of taking possession of the town of Frederickstadt ; it being a point of consequence, from whence the enemy might easily make inroads both into Livonia and the Government of Pskow. For carrying this into effect, agreeably to the plans I had formed; the following has been performed :—

A detachment from the corps of Lieutenant-General Lewis, consisting of 1300 men, under the command of Major Bojarinoff, attacked the

town from the left bank of the Dwina; whilst the troops under Colonel Ridinger attacked it from the right bank of the same river. To cover this attack, and prevent the enemy from assisting the town, another detachment from Lieutenant General Lewis's corps, consisting of 1600 men, under the command of Major Jelistratoff, was detached to make a false attack on Wallhoff, for the purpose of amusing the enemy, and taking off his attention from Frederickstadt. The attack on this town was made on the 3d (15th) instant, at nine o'clock in the forenoon; and at one o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy, after a defence rather obstinate, quitted the town, and fell back in disorder upon Jacobstadt. He was pursued about the distance of ten wersts on his retreat by Major Bojarinoff. In this affair we have taken one officer, and about 70 privates, prisoners. On our side, we may estimate the loss of all the three detachments at about 160 men. The dead bodies found in Frederickstadt, and round that town, prove the loss of the enemy to have been very considerable.

As I had previously supposed, Marshal Macdonald detached a considerable reinforcement from Misshof to Frederickstadt, which, being on its way opposed by the detachment under

Major Jelistratoff, attacked him ; but not being able to force their way past him, could not prevent the capture of Frederickstadt, in which there were about 800 Bavarians, and three squadrons of Prussian cavalry.

The enemy having for some time past formed a plan for fortifying his right flank, he, for this purpose, on the morning of the 3d (15th) attacked the detachment of Lieutenant-General Lewis, which covered Riga, and endeavoured to force him to retreat into the fortifications of that city, in order thereby to cover his right flank, and by taking advantage of the river Dwina being frozen, to find means of carrying on his operations in my rear.

The enemy, who had a greater number of troops, especially cavalry and artillery, the half of which was horse artillery, drove back the advanced-guards posted at the Custom-house, and Plankenzeim, and forced them to fall back on their own corps.

Lieutenant-General Lewis left the position he had hitherto occupied, near to Dalei Church, and took another, which was far more advanta-

geous for his forces, at the distance of three wersts from his former one.

The former position was advantageous to us, on account of the surrounding morasses; but this advantage was now lost, as being at this season of the year rendered by the frost, in some measure, passable for the cavalry; and, consequently, the corps of Lieutenant-General Lewis, being very inferior in cavalry to the enemy, might easily have been turned: 'whereas, the new position, being less extended, strong by means of the defile, and surrounded with cop-pices, did not permit the enemy's cavalry to act with effect. This action, which ceased when the night came on, was not decisive; and on the following day, being the 4th (16th), at nine o'clock in the morning, the enemy renewed his attack with a heavy cannonade. Our artillery, by a well-directed fire, soon silenced that of the enemy, and our cavalry, having a favourable position, although furiously attacked by that of the enemy, repulsed it, and obliged it to retreat; which, by the good effect of our artillery, was done in great disorder. In such manner all the enemy's attempts were defeated at every point, and he, at 12 o'clock at noon, entirely discontinued his attack, being compelled to retire. In

this action, the enemy lost about 400 men killed, and 18 were made prisoners. On our side, we had about 100 men killed or wounded.

Up to this hour, the troops are employed in carrying my plan into execution, agreeably to the supreme commands of your Imperial Majesty; and, although I cannot as yet say, that every thing has been completed according to my plan, yet I must do justice to the ardent zeal and skilful measures of Lieutenant-General Lewis, nor can I sufficiently praise the judgment, prudence, and zeal of Major-General Weljaminoff, Colonel Ridinger, and Majors Bojari-noff and Jelistratoff. As soon as the movements with regard to this undertaking are finally completed, I shall have the happiness of transmitting a particular report to your Imperial Majesty, both concerning these movements, as likewise mentioning the other staff and chief officers who have signalized themselves in this action.

In the meantime General Count Witgenstein, on the 6th of October, had directed Lieutenant-General Prince Yaschvil to attack with his detachment the enemy on the side of the village Guravitchne, whilst Lieutenant-General Count Steingel continued his march towards Polotzk, on the left bank of the Dwina.

The enemy's advanced-guard received him at the village Guravitchne, from whence it was driven into the lines. The engagement was most bloody: it began at six in the morning and lasted till night. General Witgenstein kept his ground, and compelled the enemy to retreat within his intrenchments, whence he kept up a very heavy cannonade in all directions. The following morning, the 7th, General Witgenstein did not undertake any thing, because he waited for the attack of Lieutenant-General Count Steingel on the other side of the Dwina, which took place accordingly. He drove the enemy from the village of Bononia, and pursued him towards Polotzk. General Witgenstein received this intelligence a little before dark, and, in order to profit of the situation in which the enemy

found himself, he attacked, on the evening of the 7th, at five o'clock, and drove him out of his strong intrenchments; to which success Lieutenant-General Steingel's movement greatly contributed.

The enemy now threw himself into the town, which is surrounded by a double palisade, where he maintained himself nearly the whole night, keeping up a constant fire of musketry on all sides from behind the palisades, as well as out of the houses. Count Witgenstein gave orders for his ordnance to fire upon them with round and grape-shot, and at last directed his advanced-guard to storm the place in two divisions, the first under the command of Major-Generals Platoff and Dibsitch, and the other under the command of Colonel Ridinger, of the Grodno regiment of hussars.—Lieut.-General Cazanove, as soon as he perceived that his troops were close before Polotzk, threw himself also upon the enemy, and was the first who marched with them into the town. In this manner, at three in the morning of the 8th of October, the place was carried.

The loss of the enemy was extraordinarily great; all the places of action were covered with dead bodies, although he had been employed the

whole of the preceding day in carrying wounded men to the other side. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr was wounded in the leg.

The Russians took prisoners 45 Staff and superior officers, and 2000 rank and file : among the former were two Colonels. They also took one piece of cannon, and a considerable quantity of provisions in the magazines, which the enemy had not time to destroy.

The enemy's loss would have been much greater if the Lieutenant-General Count Steingel had been able to follow him to Polotzk ; but to his great mortification, he was stopped by the intervention of a superior force, five wersts from the town. The loss of the Russians was not inconsiderable ; of the Generals were wounded, Major General Balk in the head ; Princes Sibirsky and Gamen, who had slight contusions ; Colonel Rott, of the 26th Jagers, in the leg ; and the Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Mordvinoff, a Commander in the first Petersburg Militia, lost his leg by a cannon-shot.

On the expulsion of the enemy from Moscow, the Emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation :

Russians !—At length the enemy of our country—the foe of its independence and freedom—has experienced a portion of that terrible vengeance which his ambitious and unprincipled aggression had aroused. From the period of his march from Wilna, his army, great in numbers, assured in valour and discipline, and elated at the remembrance of victories gained in other regions, threatened no less than the entire subjugation of the Russians. The system which we had thought fit to adopt strengthened that confidence. The sanguinary battles fought on his route, and which gave him temporary possession of Smolenzk, flattered him with all the illusions of victory. He reached Moscow, and he believed himself invincible and invulnerable. He now exulted in the idea of reaping the fruit of his toils ; of obtaining for his soldiers comfortable winter-quarters ; and of sending out from thence, next spring, fresh forces to ravage and burn our cities, make captives of our countrymen, overthrow our laws and holy religion, and subject every thing to his lawless will. Vain presumptuous hope !—insolent degrading menace ! A population of forty millions, attached to their King and country, and devoted to their religion and laws, the least brave man of whom is superior to his unwilling confederates and victims, cannot be conquered by a heterogeneous force which he could muster, even of treble its late amount.

Scarcely had he reached Moscow, and attempted to repose amidst its burning ruins, when he found himself encircled by the bayonets of our troops : he then, too late, discovered that the possession of Moscow was not the conquest of the kingdom—that his temerity had led

him into a snare—and that he must choose between retreat or annihilation. He preferred the former; and behold the consequences.

Russians! the Almighty has heard our wishes, and crowned your efforts with success. Every where the enemy is in motion: for disorderly movements betrayed his apprehensions: gladly would he compound for safety; but policy and justice alike demand the terrible infliction. The history of his daring must not be told without the terrible catastrophe, by which it was attended. A hundred thousand men sacrificed to his frantic presumption attest your valour and devotion to your country; and must deter him from a repetition of his impracticable design. Much, however, yet remains to be done, and that is in your power. Let the line of his retreat be rendered memorable by your honest indignation: destroy every thing which can be of service to him, and our Commanders have orders to remunerate you. Render your bridges, your roads, impassable. In fine, adopt and execute the suggestions of a brave, wise, and patriotic heart, and show yourselves deserving the thanks of your country and your sovereign.

Should the remains of the enemy's force escape to our Imperial frontiers, and attempt to winter there, they must prepare themselves to encounter all the rigours of the clime and season, and the valorous attacks of our troops: thus harassed, exhausted, and defeated, he shall for ever be rendered incapable of renewing his presumptuous attempt.

General Kutusoff, who, after the battle of Borodino, was left with little more than half the number of Buonaparte, had now collected nearly 200,000 men, including the peasants, who flocked to his standard, and afforded the most essential service in thinning the ranks of the flying enemy. This old and valuable officer possessed the confidence of all ranks of people in Russia: his life was a life of approved and important services*, and throughout the empire his name was synonymous with victory.

On all the roads there were detached parties,

* Although he commanded at the battle of Austerlitz, from which his military reputation has unjustly suffered in Europe, it is but justice to observe, that the fatal event of that day is not fairly attributable to him, the whole plan and conduct of the battle having been prescribed to him by an authority which he could not dispute.—The following note is inserted after the name of this veteran, in the 13th letter, 2d edition, of a political writer, under the signature of Vetus.—“Kutusoff is chargeable only with the movements which for some days preceded the battle of Austerlitz. The *honour* of conducting the battle itself was shared between Alexander and an Austrian General. The unfortunate Austrian, to whose care so many lives and such an empire was committed, died of a broken heart.”

who, besides making prisoners, and preventing the collection of provisions and forage, daily cut to pieces great numbers of the enemy, taking ammunition waggons, blowing up powder chests, and destroying whole parks of artillery. The parties formed an unbroken line of connection around the enemy's positions, so that he could not move in any direction without being subjected to attack. The troops peculiarly serviceable in this species of warfare were the Cossacks, of whom no less than twenty-four additional régiments had joined General Kutusoff by the 12th of October; the regular corps, also, were completed by recruits from the neighbouring governments. But it was not only on the troops, regular or irregular, that the General had to rely; the country was defended, as every country when invaded ought to be, by every man in it. —The villagers kept watch on high hills and church steeples, and at sight of an enemy rung alarm bells, the sound of which assembled them together; when they bound themselves by an oath to mutual defence, and agreed to punish cowardice and desertion as the basest of crimes. The charm of Buonaparte's invincibility was dissolved, and the Russian army was inspired with a consciousness of its strength, and a confidence in its energies.

It was from this harassing and destructive mode of warfare that Buonaparte, who quitted Moscow on the 19th of October, did not advance further than Vereya by the 29th of that month. At this place he quitted his army, and hastened with his Imperial Guards to Smolenzk, leaving orders for the rest to follow him with all convenient speed. He himself did not reach this point of destination till the 9th of November, thus advancing but two hundred miles in twenty-one days.

Field-Marshal Kutusoff detached General Doctoroff with orders to act on the whole distance between Gchatz and Mojaisk, and to make the destruction of the entrenchments, which the enemy had thrown up on the town of Vereya, his first object. This brave General executed his directions with equal courage and rapidity.

The town of Vereya was cleared of the enemy, and their entrenchments carried by storm. These entrenchments, which were formed on a steep hill at five fathoms height, were surrounded by a palisade. In the course of half an hour the Russians forced their way on the parapet, notwithstanding the obstinacy of the enemy's defence, and immediately every thing was in their hands without firing a single shot. A great

number were killed, and upwards of three hundred and fifty privates, fourteen Staff and chief officers, together with the commandant and a pair of colours, were the fruits of this successful assault. After having accomplished this, the next object of the General's was, the destruction of such of the enemy as still remained in the town. The enemy made his appearance to no purpose at eleven o'clock on the same day, with three battalions and four squadrons, as well as some pieces of artillery, on the Mojaisk road. The storm was already finished, and the Russian reserve was in good order, and in readiness to repulse this new force of the enemy. When the enemy, after a small resistance, perceived that his Vereya detachment was destroyed, he speedily withdrew himself, and was pursued by the light cavalry, who caused him a considerable loss. The loss of the Russians was very trifling: 500 muskets of the enemy fell into their hands at the taking of the town of Vereya, and which were immediately distributed among the peasantry.

The Russian columns were led, with indescribable courage, to the storming of Vereya, by four citizens of that place. The difficulty of the enterprise did not cool the love of their country in their hearts; and they were the first to throw themselves on the walls of the en-

trenchments. One of them was wounded ; and by the directions of the General Field-Marshal, they were all four rewarded with the military badge of honour.

In the morning of the 31st of October, General Platoff attacked, with two brigades, the left wing of the French rear-guard. The alarmed enemy then continued his retreat ; but General Platoff caused him to be followed on the flanks with Cossacks and artillery, whilst he threw himself upon his rear with cannon and Cossacks. The enemy several times halted, and shewed against the Russians, infantry and cannon, but, threatened in his flanks and rear, he was still compelled to retreat. He seemed disposed to make a stand on the height near the convent of Kolotzk ; but the artillery obliged him to betake himself to flight, and the Russians took twenty pieces of cannon. In consequence of this fortunate attack of the Cossacks, two entire battalions were annihilated, and the enemy's loss was otherwise very considerable, as the Cossacks took but few prisoners. On the road from the convent of Kolotzk to Mojaïsk, the enemy left more than five hundred horses behind him, and a great number of carts and baggage.—He retreated in such haste, that he burned all his heavy baggage and powder waggons, and during

the night he even marched his artillery by the light of lanthorns.

It was evidently the intention of the enemy to go round Kutusoff, and by that means to get to Kalouga, and force his way into the most fruitful provinces. This determined that General to abandon the old Kalouga road, and occupy the new one. By this movement he anticipated the enemy at Nialoyarraslovitz. A considerable French corps was, at the same time, on the road from Mojaisk to Kalouga. At Nialoyarraslovitz the enemy was beaten back. Kutusoff then, with the greatest part of his army, went to Medyne, where the enemy, in the meantime, was detained by a body of Cossacks.

The French, finding themselves anticipated on all the roads, began to retire through Vereya, on the Mojaisk road. In consequence of this, Kutusoff made the following disposition: his army marched direct upon Viasma; the corps of General Miloradovitch (which formed nearly the half of his force) followed the enemy in a parallel line, between him and the Mojaisk roads; and all the troops from the Don received orders to anticipate the enemy, to destroy all the bridges, to break up the roads, and to give him all possible annoyance.

Every part of the above plan answered most effectually. Almost every day was signalized by some success. On the 1st November, Platoff, commanding the advanced-guard, attacked the enemy at Kolotzk, and defeated them, taking much cannon and several prisoners. On the 2d Prince Orloff-Denisoff attacked, near Viasma, some of the regiments which had been beaten the preceding day at Kolotzk. Here he took a few prisoners, and amongst them Murat's Secretary, with all his papers. On the 3d, General Miloradovitch, supported by Platoff, attacked several French corps near Viasma, commanded by the Vice King of Italy, Davoust, and Ney; these corps were completely defeated, and drove through the town with great slaughter; the loss of the French was 6000 killed and wounded, and one colour, five cannon, and 2000 prisoners, amongst whom was General Pettien and Colonel Morat, Aid-de-Camp to Marshal Davoust. The whole road to Mojaisk was covered with ammunition waggons and dead horses. On the 4th the Hetman Platoff pursued the enemy beyond Viasma, and brought in 1000 prisoners.

The French army was at this time in the greatest distress.—Harassed on every side by a determined and exasperated enemy, despair so took possession of the troops, that numbers sur-

rendered themselves to the victorious Russians, whilst others, no longer capable of making the least exertion, laid down on the road side, and perished with cold, hunger, and fatigue.

The British nation, ever liberal towards suffering patriotism, could not view the deprivations and miseries occasioned to the Russian peasant and soldier in this struggle, without coming forward to their relief.—Subscriptions had been entered into at St. Petersburg, at the head of which were all the members of the royal family; and committees had been appointed in Russia to enquire into the particulars of the losses of every individual, in order to apportion the relief to be distributed.—Humanity, and even policy, demanded that Great-Britain should afford every aid to the people who were contending for the freedom of the Continent. No nation had ever shewn greater exertions of public spirit, or been engaged in a juster cause. The noble conduct of the Russians had broken a link and made a chasm in the successes of the Tyrant of Europe, which all were bound to prevent being filled up: it had dissolved the Continental System, and afforded an opening to British manufactures in the Baltic: it had broken that chain in which

British commerce and prosperity were held bound by their enemy. It was a struggle of the greatest importance to Europe, in which the Emperor of Russia had been compelled to engage, and held out an obligation for Great-Britain to give every degree of co-operation and assistance in her power. Various meetings were therefore convened throughout this country to afford such relief to the distressed Russians as might in some degree compensate them for the very great sufferings and losses they had sustained from their merciless invader. Sums to a great amount were contributed by all classes of Britons, and these augmented by a parliamentary vote worthy of the character of the country, and the glorious war in which Russia was engaged.—The words of a great statesman had been now fully verified; (“the Russian nation cannot yet have forgotten what it owes to the glorious memory of its great founder, and to that of Catherine II.—Nor can the Court of Petersburg compromise the dignity of a sovereign, and so far divest royalty of honour, honesty, and of all the attributes of a legitimate government, as to countenance the crimes of the rulers of France,”) and it was a bounden duty that she should be supported in her endeavours.

Beauharnois was now conducting the 4th

corps of the army from Viasma towards Vitepsk, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles N.W. by the way of Douchovchina. Viasma, by the main western road through Dorogabouche, is about eighty-five miles from Smolenzk, and the latter place is sixty miles from Vitepsk. Within this triangle, therefore, were the following operations carried on. On the 7th of November Beauharnois was attacked by Platoff, who forced the corps to separate, one part pursuing its former course, the other wandering away to the left. Beauharnois underwent extreme hardships on that day. In the course of it, he lost above 400 horses, he was obliged to spike many of his cannon, and with difficulty reached Zeselia in the evening. On the 8th he again set forward with such part of the corps as remained, intending to reach Pologgi; but such were the obstacles he encountered, that, though not on that day much harassed by the enemy, he was unable to get further than the river Vop, having lost 800 more horses, and two-thirds of his artillery: still, however, he persevered in his intention of marching for Douchovchina. Thus was Beauharnois situated on the evening of the 8th of November: but on the 9th, in the morning, having learnt that the last-mentioned town was occupied by the Adjutant-General Count Kutusoff, (a relation of the Field Marshal's) he

abandoned his object, and turned off suddenly to the left for Dorogabouche, on the Smolenzk road. Here, however, he was again intercepted, and an obstinate battle ensued, which terminated in a complete victory on the part of the Russians, the French losing 62 pieces of cannon, all their ammunition, 3000 prisoners, and a still more considerable number in killed and wounded.

As proofs of the extreme sufferings of the French army at this time, the two following documents are given, being intercepted letters from Eugene Beauharnois to Berthier.

Intercepted Letter from the Viceroy of Italy, Eugene Napoleon, to the Prince of Neufchatel, from Zeselia, Oct. 26, (Nov. 7) 1812.

“ I have the honour to acquaint your Highness, that I put myself in motion this morning at four o’clock, but the difficulties of the ground, and the slippery ice, have occasioned such obstacles to the march of my corps of the army, that its head alone could arrive here at six in the evening, and the tail of the columns was compelled to take up a position two leagues in the rear.

“ From two till five o'clock the enemy made his appearance on my right. He attacked nearly at the same time the head, the centre, and the tail of my columns, with artillery, Cossacks, and dragoons. In the van-guard he found a gap, of which he took advantage to make an inroad, and carry off two regimental cannon, which were on a steep declivity, and at some distance from their escorts. The 9th regiment of infantry hastened to the spot, but the pieces were already carried off.

“ The enemy fired on our rear-guard with four pieces of cannon, and General Oranno believes, though without affirming it as certain, that he saw some infantry. On each of the other points the enemy had two pieces of cannon.

“ Your Highness will readily perceive, that, embarrassed by my heavy baggage, which has been replaced in my hands, and by a numerous artillery, of the horses attached to which, 400, without exaggeration, have died this day, my situation is critical enough. Nevertheless, I shall continue my movement very early to-morrow morning, in order to reach Pologgi. There I shall expect information, and according to what

I learn there, I will decide on marching either to Douchovchina, or to Pneva.

“ I must not conceal from your Highness, that after using every effort in my power, I have yet found it impossible to drag my artillery, and that in this respect, very great sacrifices must be expected. To-day many pieces were spiked and buried.—I am, &c.”

Letter from the same to the same, at the time of crossing the river Vope, Oct. 27, (Nov. 8) 1812.

“ Herewith enclosed I address to your Highness the letter which I wrote you yesterday, but which did not reach you, the officer who was the bearer having been misled by his guide.

“ Your Highness will be surprised at learning that I am still only upon the Vope. I nevertheless set out this morning from Zeselia at five o'clock ; but the road is so cut up with ravines, that incredible efforts were necessary to advance even thus far. It is with pain that I feel myself under the severe necessity of acknowledging to you the sacrifices which we have made to accelerate our march. These three last days have cost us two-thirds of the artillery of this corps

of the army. Yesterday about 400 horses died ; and to-day, perhaps, double that number have perished, exclusive of the great number of horses which I have caused to be put on for the military baggage, and that of individuals. Whole trains of horses have perished in the harness at once. Many of them have been even three times renewed.

“ To-day this corps of the army has not been disturbed in its march. We have perceived only a few Cossacks, without artillery, which appears to me rather uncommon ; but if we are to believe the report of a Voltigeur sent out marauding, it would appear that a column of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, was marching in the same direction with us, namely, upon Douchovchina. This night I send forward a strong reconnoissance upon Douchovchina, where I hope to be to-morrow, should the enemy not oppose to me a serious resistance ; for I must not conceal from your Highness, that these three days of suffering have so dispirited the soldier, that I believe him at this moment very little capable of making any effort. Numbers of men are dead of hunger or cold, and others in despair have suffered themselves to be taken by the enemy.—I am, &c.”

After the taking of Polotzk, on the 20th of October, the broken remains of the 2nd French corps had been pursued, without intermission, first to Lepel, and thence to Tchasniki, where, being joined by 15,000 of Victor's corps from Smolenzk *, they thought themselves strong enough to make a stand.

Their loss at the battle of Polotzk, and during their retreat to Lepel, amounted in prisoners to 100 staff officers, among whom were five colonels, and 6000 privates ; 9 pieces of cannon, the whole baggage belonging to the Bavarian regiments—90 powder waggons, and a great number

* Smolenzk, so celebrated in these campaigns, as being the scene of conflict, and of victory, and also as giving the dignity of Prince to the venerable hero Kutusoff, is in appearance and structure, the most noble and singular city of any in this most astonishing empire : it is situated on the Boristhenes, and stretched over two mountains, and the valley which divides them. Its flankings, walls, towns, and fortifications, its domes and steeples, all rising in a pleasing confusion, form a gratifying prospect ; its scattered and humble buildings, sometimes hidden among the numberless trees, which grow within its walls, the gardens, the meadows, the corn fields, the orchards of Smolenzk, at once rich, beautiful, and grotesque, rivet the attention, and gratify the senses. It is an assemblage of battlements, and rural scenery, such as no other city in the universe can exhibit. Yet, notwithstanding its extent, contains only 4000 inhabitants.

of gun carriages : the guns were thrown into the river by the enemy.

Their loss in killed was very great, as not only the field of battle, but even the whole road, was covered with dead bodies ; so that this corps of the enemy was entirely destroyed : besides which, Victor had been forced with his corps to separate from the Grand Army.

On the 1st of November General Witgenstein again attacked them in their positions, and after a very hot battle, which lasted the whole day, he succeeded once more in putting them to flight. Here, having posted himself on the river Oula, he dispatched a part of his forces to Vitepsk, about 40 miles to the north-west, which place was then occupied by a French detachment ; but being attacked on the 6th of November, it was carried by assault, the General who acted as Governor of the town being taken, together with many other prisoners of note. In the meanwhile General Witgenstein having first sent out parties to Borrisoff and Minsk (and thereby put himself in communication with General Tchichagoff, who had reached the latter place), marched directly upon Orcha, the next large town to Krasnoy, at the distance of about 45 miles to the westward, and nearly half-way between that

place and Borrisoff. Thus three Russian armies were placed directly in front of Buonaparte, on the straight line of his retreat; namely, Kutusoff's at Krasnoy, Witgenstein's at Orcha, and Tchichagoff's at Borrisoff or Minsk *. Buonaparte was well aware of the dangerous state of his position, and perceived that no other resource was left him, than to hasten his retreat towards the Berezina.

On the 9th of November, Count Orloff-Denisoff, commanding a part of the troops in advance between Smolenzk and Krasnoy, fell in with a corps of detachments intended for the different regiments of imperial guards; this force was under the command General Barraguay D'Hilliers, having with him General Charpentier, and Brigadier General Augereau, which was marching to Kalouga, and ignorant of the events that had occurred since the evacuation of Moscow. The Russians had found them posted in three villages on the road: three small corps of irregulars, under a Colonel Davidoff, and two Captains, Seslavin and Phigner, attacked them in their posts. The fortune of the day was with

* Minsk is a very considerable place; two churches and a monastery, which it contains, are constructed of brick; and the buildings, though of wood, have a very neat appearance.

the Russians. After a well-contested struggle, D'Hilliers' division was obliged to make a rapid retreat to Smolenzk ; one division under Charpentier was nearly cut to pieces, and Augereau, brother to the Marshal, after having a thousand of his men killed, surrendered the surviving two thousand to Captain Phigner, who had not 1500 men. The succeeding days were equally favorable to the Russian arms : on the 12th Count Orloff-Denisoff attacked a foraging party of the cavalry and artillery, and killed and made prisoners a very considerable number.

In the meantime, General Platoff attacked Beauharnois' corps on the other side of Smolenzk. This action was still more obstinate than the above, and terminated favorably to the Russians, who took thirty-three pieces of cannon, and two hundred prisoners. However, these sanguinary and well-contested battles were but the preludes to still greater events and successes for the Russian arms.

Count Platoff transmitted to Field Marshal Kutusoff the subjoined report of his operations against the corps of Beauharnois, dated from the village of Montornvo, November 8th.

“ I have the happiness to congratulate

your Excellency on a signal victory over the enemy.

After I had sent off my dispatch of yesterday to your Excellency, I pursued my march, according to your directions on the right side of the great Smolenzk road, that leads from Dorogabouche to Smolenzk, to come in front of the enemy's columns, and prevent them from foraging and setting fire to the villages. I have informed your Excellency that I continued my march upon Solowievo, but expected to meet the enemy on the Douchovchina road. I yesterday came up with the corps of the Viceroy of Italy, Eugene, on his retreat from Dorogabouche to Douchovchina, attacked it, and by the aid of Providence, divided it into two parts.

One part withdrew itself upon Douchovchina, and the other turned Dorogabouche in the utmost disorder, and distributed itself in different places ; but to-day, they united themselves by different roads with that part which had gone upon Douchovchina.

To-day I again attacked the enemy, notwithstanding the continual rainy weather, and as soon as I found him, completely defeated him.

In these two actions the enemy lost a great number of killed, among which were some generals, as appears from the insignia and decorations brought to me. The prisoners amount to 3000, among whom are chiefs of regiments, staff, and upper officers.—The Cossacks took but few prisoners—having cut the greater part to pieces.

Sixty-two pieces of cannon are taken, and probably more, for I have not yet had time to enumerate them accurately;—standards have also been taken, which, on account of haste, have not yet been brought to me.

With respect to the killed and wounded on our side, I have no account, but thanks to God they are not very many.

The regiments are following, with me, the remains of the enemy's defeated corps, which has retired in the utmost disorder upon Douchovchina.

On my right side, near the town of Douchovchina, is Major-General Iloviaskoy, with his brigade. He has taken the Chief of the General Staff and all the armies, General Saneon, and about 500 privates.

I have sent five regiments, under the command of Major-General Grekow, in pursuit of the enemy along the Smolenzk road, and am myself hastening, with the rest of the regiments, completely to annihilate the remainder of this corps of the enemy.

I shall conclude my report by observing, that every thing proceeds excellently, and it is only necessary to pursue the enemy."

" PLATOFF."

The following admirable paragraph from the parole orders of the 10th November, issued by Prince Kutusoff to his army, deserves attention.

" After these extraordinarily great successes which we daily and every where are gaining over the enemy, nothing more remains for us to do, than to pursue him rapidly ; and then, perhaps, the Russian land, which he thought to subjugate, may be strewed with his bones. Let us, therefore, pursue him without giving him any rest. The winter, accompanied with frost and snow, is approaching ; but what have you, hardy children, to fear from it ? Your breasts of steel fear neither the severity of the weather, nor

the malice of the enemy ; they are the safe walls of your native country, against which all attempts must fail. You are likewise adequate to the support of any temporary want, in case that such should take place. Good soldiers prove themselves such by fortitude and patience, of which the veterans set examples to the younger soldiers. May every one keep Suwarroff in remembrance: he taught how to bear hunger and frost, when a victory, or the glory of the Russian nation was in view ! Let us go on ! God is with us ; before us is the beaten enemy, and may peace and happiness be behind us !”

Marshal Kutusoff, convinced that it was the intention of the enemy to make a movement by Krasnoy, a town to the south westward of Smolenzk, pushed forward a strong body under Lieutenant-General Onwarrow, a gallant officer who checked the advance of the enemy at Eldelten and Lingnau, in the campaigns of 1806-7, to divert the manœuvre. This officer fell in with the enemy, attacked with great resolution, and completely defeated them, taking one standard, several pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The French still moving forward in heavy masses from Smolenzk under Davoust, and advancing near to Krasnoy, a reinforcement was brought up, commanded by Lieutenant-

General Prince Galitzen. By this movement the French position was turned, and a most violent attack was commenced. The Russian artillery was served most admirably, and after a long and sanguinary contest the enemy was forced to surrender. Davoust's corps connected the advanced-guard with the rear; and this point of connection was of such extensive importance, that Buonaparte commanded in person, and made the most vigorous exertions. The battle lasted the whole day; and the enemy were completely defeated and dispersed in the neighbouring wood, for a distance of five wersts along the banks of the Dnieper. The fruits of this victory were two Generals, fifty-eight officers, 9170 rank and file, prisoners, 70 pieces of cannon, three standards, and the bâton of Marshal Davoust: on both sides the loss in killed was very great.

The annexed is an intercepted letter from the Prince of Neufchatel to Marshal Davoust, from Smolenzk.

“ Prince of Echmuhl,—It is the wish of the Emperor, that you support the Duke of Elchingen in the retreat which he is making with his rear-guard, while the Viceroy, to-morrow, will

march to take post at Krasnoy. You will, therefore, take care to occupy the post which you shall judge adviseable, and which the Viceroy shall evacuate. The intention of the Emperor is, that you, with your corps, and that of the Duke of Elchingen, retire from Krasnoy, and make this movement on the 16th and 17th. General Charpentier, with his garrison, consisting of three third Polish battalions and a regiment of cavalry, will leave the town at the same time with the rear. Before you march out, you will blow up the ramparts which surround Smolenzk, as the mines are ready, and only need to be set fire to. You will take care that the ammunition, powder-chests, and every thing that cannot be carried away, be destroyed and burnt, as also the muskets: the cannon should be buried. Generals Chasseloup and Lareossiere will take care, each in his department, to carry these orders into proper execution.

“ You will take care to send out patrols, that no marauder may remain behind; and you will also leave as few persons as possible in the hospitals.

(Signed) “ Prince of Neufchatel, Maj.-Gen.

Smolenzk, Nov. 2, (14).”

In order to obtain a certain victory over Marshal Ney, and to cut off entirely his communication with the rest of the army, General Kutusoff, on the 17th of November, reinforced General Miloradovitch with the 8th corps, giving him orders to prevent the Marshal's advance, and to take a position near the villages Syroherenic and Tcherniska, on the high road to Krasnoy. Major-General Lourkouski perceived, about three in the afternoon, the enemy advancing. The thickness of the fog prevented him from ascertaining the force of the French, who kept marching forwards with great resolution till they were close to the Russian batteries. The enemy attempting in vain to pierce through their lines, received, at the distance of two hundred and forty paces, a general discharge of musketry and forty pieces of cannon: the effect of this fire upon the enemy was extremely fatal: they, however, fought with the greatest bravery; they repeatedly rushed on to the attack of the Russian batteries, but were as frequently repulsed. General Paskevitch, commanding a Russian division, led on his troops by a circuitous route from the villages, and succeeded in getting in the rear of the French; he immediately charged them in the most intrepid manner: this movement was admirably seconded by the Hulan Guards, who at the same moment attacked

and turned the enemy's right wing, whilst the left was vigorously attacked by the Pauvlofsky regiments. Finding there was no hope of escaping, he at length sent a flag of truce to General Miloradovitch, and at midnight the whole corps d'armée of the enemy, amounting to 12,000 men, were obliged to lay down their arms. All their artillery, in number twenty-seven pieces of cannon, all the baggage and military chest, were the fruits of this victory. In the number of prisoners were above one hundred officers of different ranks. Marshal Ney, who had vainly expected by his advance to repair the losses of Buonaparte, was wounded, but saved himself by flight, and was pursued by the Cossacks beyond the Dnieper. The loss of the enemy was exceedingly great: four Generals of Division were among the wounded. The Russians, who had not lost above five hundred men in killed and wounded, made a considerable booty on this day: a great part of the spoil of Moscow, which had been saved from the flames, fell into their hands*.

* The paintings, and other valuable curiosities which came to the Emperor's share of the plunder at Moscow, were conveyed on nine waggons, and moved at the head of the column of the Emperor's train, under the high sounding appellation of "*Les Trophées*."—These trophies were followed by 28 waggons, laden with the Emperor's treasure, and those were

On the Dwina the Russian arms were equally prosperous.—On the 14th of November Count

again followed by 80 carriages of various descriptions, which concluded the Emperor's equipage, the whole under the immediate superintendence of General Bernard.—The horses which drew the Emperor's treasure knocked up first, and to ease them of their burthen as much as possible, several carriages belonging to the 16th battalion were taken to assist.—Those waggons were called the "*The Comets*," on account of their singular construction with shafts before and behind. Every evening orders were issued for the march of the Imperial train column for the following day, and the names of the several divisions of those carriages rendered the daily orders ridiculous.—Now *the Trophies* will lead the column, then *the Comets*.—Such or such time *the Trophies will break up*, or such and such hour *the Comets will bivouac*.—When sometimes the alarm was given at night, away drove trophies and comets in a hurly burly, and the conductors of the trophies were often near losing sight of their high trust, and obliged to unharness their horses to save themselves, at the expence of the trophies. As by degrees the great mortality among the horses increased, several carriages of the Imperial train column were burned every night; but this was always performed at a considerable distance from the high road, to avoid the observation of idle spectators and passers-by. Thus diminished this formidable column day after day; and before the enemy had reached Wilna, nearly the whole of this equipage had vanished into smoke, a proof of the instability and uncertainty of worldly fame and treasure. A small part only of the Imperial treasure was saved, by the horses being taken from the trophies to hasten the march of the comets.

The fate of the treasure appears best from the report made by the Minister *Mollien* on the 4th of January (New Style) to

Witgenstein was attacked by Victor, who had collected all his troops from different places,

Count Daru : in this statement it is observed, that from Smolenzk to Wilna the sum of more than 3,209,248 francs was lost out of 5,209,245 francs ; and that from Wilna to Königsberg the sum of 6,213,295 francs was minus out of 10,910,455 francs : so that out of nearly the sum of 16,122,700 francs, only 6,106,159 francs were saved.—The Minister Mollien states in his report, “ that the treasure was plundered by those belonging to the train, and that he had already directed General Bernard to make the necessary inquiries as to what corps of the army these men belonged ;” and he further observes, “ that he had certain hopes of tracing the delinquents, as no doubt many *individuals* must have shared in the plunder of so considerable sums ;” and he adds, “ that although, perhaps, in the first instance, their recovery could not be thought of, yet that they should be charged hereafter against the corps by which the robbery had been committed.”—Such deduction would certainly be no more than just, if the men belonging to those corps had not been deducted from the population of Europe ; or perhaps the Minister thought at the time on the arrears of the army, and of a balance between plunder and debt ; if so, it is possible that the treasury would still have gained.

The King of Naples, with his own hands, set fire to part of his equipage, between Smolenzk and Krasnoy, amongst which he sacrificed the whole of his plate to the flames : the King kept stirring the fire with a long pole, and, as the soldiers came crawling from all parts to save from destruction some of the valuables, for their own benefit, he flung the blazing pole among the foremost ; but notwithstanding this he could not prevent the removal of various articles of horse-clothing, which protected and comforted the soldiers. The Shabracks,

with the express object of driving him across the river. The Russian advanced-guard, under Lieutenant-General Prince Jaschevel drew him on by a well-conducted retreat within the range of their batteries. The enemy immediately advanced against the centre of General Witgenstein's position, and threatened with an overpowering force of troops, which marched in columns, his two flanks. He suffered him to approach near, and then received him with his sharp-shooters and artillery. The action was very hot, and continued the whole day, especially in the centre, on which the enemy particularly pressed, in order to take the main batteries, which were on a height before General Witgenstein's position, having in front the village of Smolenzk, which was six times taken by the enemy, and as often retaken by the Russians. At length, in the evening, the enemy, after having lost about 800 men, and some officers, taken prisoners, with a great number of killed and wounded, (for the village of Smolna as well as the field of battle was full of dead bodies), retreated from his position, enraged and mortified at the failure of his enterprize. Im-

however, have since returned to the pristine offices for which they were intended, and are again rode upon, although not by Kings, but by Cossacks.

mediately after this, the enemy withdrew, in sight of the Russian army, with the greater part of his troops, along the river Ula, upon Baitshewo, where, however, as he was received unexpectedly by General Witgenstein's reserve, under the command of Major-General Fock, he here made a halt to pass the night. Meanwhile, he made a strong demonstration in the night, on his left flank, by throwing bridges over the river Lukomlao, intending by this movement to turn both flanks of General Witgenstein's army, and get in his rear, and thereby force him to quit his position. But when he found this attempt totally defeated, he returned back on the 5th, at eight in the morning, and marched past him with his whole force, which was very great, at a considerable distance. The army at length left a strong rear-guard opposite to General Witgenstein's position, and which remained there until late in the night, when he moved farther along the road to the village of Akseuza; the Russian van-guard pursued him with cavalry, and made upwards of 600 prisoners. The loss of the French in this attack was between 2 and 3000.—The following morning the enemy had completely withdrawn: they were, however, followed by the cavalry, who harassed their retreat, and brought off numerous prisoners.

Colonel Tchernicheff, Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor Alexander, had been detached by Admiral Tchichagoff, who was proceeding towards Minsk, with a small corps of light cavalry, to the position of General Witgenstein, where he arrived on the 18th November, having marched seven hundred wersts in five days. In the course of his march he rescued from the enemy, between Wilna and Minsk, Major-General Winzingerode, who was taken prisoner at Moscow, and his Aide-de-Camp Captain Narishkin. These officers were being conducted towards the frontier, under an escort of gens d'armes, and had been presented to Buonaparte at Vereya.

The brilliant successes which attended the Russian troops, and which were the forerunners of greater glories, inspired them with the most lively ardour: the enemy retreated on all sides, pursued by active and resolute armed bodies.— Detachments were daily cut off, and the privations and inclemency of the season, nearly effected the destruction of all who escaped the sword of the conquerors.

On the 15th of November the Emperor Alex-

ander issued the following proclamation from St. Petersburg.

“It is well known to the whole world in what manner the enemy has entered the boundaries of our empire. No step or means that have so frequently been resorted to by the punctual fulfilment of the peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a bloody and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design, in which he has shewn himself entirely immovable. With peaceful promises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length, having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wirtemberg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments, who were constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force, supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and penetrated into the interior of our country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were his attendants on the march. The plundered property, the towns and villages set on fire, the smoking ruins of Moscow, the Kremlin blown up into the air, the temples and altars of the Lord destroyed; in one word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity, hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions, that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian empire, which possesses every thing in abundance, awakened in the heart of the enemy envy and dread. The possession of the whole world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred, he revolved, turned, and arranged in his

mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, a total confusion to her riches, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He likewise thought by cunning and flattery to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries, and of God's temples, to make religion unsteady, and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagances. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential and murderous tempest, into the heart of Russia.

“The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and inwardly moved, thought they saw in the reflection of the flames of Moscow the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But great and mighty is the God of Justice! The triumph of the enemy was of short duration; pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that by his temerity he had ventured too far, and that he could not, either by his vaunted army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire fear into the loyal and valiant Russians, nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he sees his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed, he now, with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight; he flies from Moscow with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence; he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing that can retard the swiftness of his flight. Thousands of the fugitives daily fall to the earth and expire. In such manner does the just vengeance of God punish those

who insult his temples. Whilst we, with paternal tenderness and joyful heart, observe the great and praiseworthy actions of our faithful subjects, we carry our most warm and lively gratitude to the first cause of all good—the Almighty God; and in the next place we have to express our thanks in the name of our common country, to all our loyal subjects, as the true sons of Russia. By their general energy and zeal, the force of the enemy is brought down to the lowest degree of decline, for the greater part has either been annihilated or made prisoners. All have unanimously joined in the work. Our valiant armies have every where defeated the enemy. The higher nobility have spared nothing by which it could contribute to the increase of the strength of the state. The merchants have distinguished themselves by sacrifices of all kinds. The loyal people, burghers, and peasantry, have given such proofs of fidelity and love for their country, as can only be expected of the Russian nation. They have zealously and voluntarily entered into the hastily raised levies, and have shewed a courage and resolution equal to veteran warriors. They have with the same force and intrepidity penetrated the enemy's regiments with the same implements with which they only a few weeks before turned up the fields. In this manner the troops of levies sent from St. Petersburg and Novogorod, for the strengthening of the forces under Count Witgenstein, have behaved themselves, especially at Polotzk, and other places. We have besides, and with heartfelt satisfaction, perceived by the reports of the Commander-in-Chief of the armies, and from other Generals, that in several governments, and particularly in those of Moscow and Kalouga, the country people

have armed themselves, chosen their own leaders, and not only resisted all attempts at seducing them, but also sustained all the calamities that have befallen them with the perseverance of martyrs. Often have they united themselves with our detachments, and assisted them in making their enterprises and attacks against the enemy. Many villagers have secreted their families and tender infants in the woods; and the inhabitants, with armed hand and inconceivable courage, under engagements on the Holy Gospel not to leave each other in danger, defended themselves, and whenever the enemy shewed himself, have fallen upon him, so that many thousands of them have been cut to pieces, and dispersed by the peasants, and even by their women, and numbers taken prisoners, who were indebted for their lives to the humanity of those very people whom they came to plunder and destroy.

“ So high a purpose, and such invincible perseverance in the whole nation, does it immortal honour, worthy of being preserved in the minds of posterity. With the courage of such a nation, we entertain the most well-founded hopes. Whilst we, jointly with the true church, and the holy synod and clergy, supplicate God’s assistance, that if our inveterate enemy, and the mocker of God’s temple and holiness, should not be entirely and totally destroyed in Russia, yet that his deep wounds, and the blood it has cost him, will bring him to acknowledge her might and strength.

“ Meanwhile, we hold it to be our bounden duty, by this general publication before the whole world, to ex-

press our gratitude to the valiant, loyal, and religious Russian nation, and thereby render it due justice."

Admiral Tchichagoff arrived on the 22d of November at Borrisoff, which place Adjutant-General Count Lambert took possession of on the preceding day, and there defeated the whole of Dombrowski's corps, taking six cannon and two stands of colours, and making 3000 prisoners; the remainder of this beaten corps marched off on the road to Orcha. Count de Lambert also took two pieces of artillery at Kaydanovo, and about 3000 prisoners. In the course of eight days this officer made about 11,000 prisoners, including the sick that were found in the hospitals at Minsk, and took twenty-four cannon. Victor and Oudinot were now retreating before General Witgenstein in the direction of Borrisoff, who pursued them, and on the 23d took upwards of 800 prisoners, and a number of baggage-waggon. In the meantime Count Platoff was in pursuit of the enemy's grand army towards Toutchino. Thus the Russians were compressing the enemy on three sides. General Count Platoff pursued them on the rear, General Witgenstein acted on their flank, and Admiral Tchichagoff waited for them at Borrisoff.

Major-General Vlastoff, commanding the vanguard of General Witgenstein's army, defeated General Dentelne's division, near the town of Batoury, and made prisoners within two days General Dentelne, one Lieutenant-Colonel, thirty-six officers, and 2000 men. It was then perceived that the enemy were quickly retreating; and General Witgenstein undertook making a flank movement from Holopolichi, and marched towards the town of Barani, in order, from this point, to cut him off from the Lepel road, and be enabled to act on Vesselowo and Stoudentzi, where he was forming bridges.

The following report was now sent to the Emperor by Count Witgenstein.

“When I arrived at the town of Kosstritzi, I received information that Napoleon would cross the Berezina river, and that Victor's corps formed his rear-guard. I therefore put myself in march to attack him whilst crossing, and desired General Platoff to hasten to Borrisoff, which he accordingly did. He proceeded on the Toutchino road, and after my arrival with the whole corps at Old Borrisoff, he cut off the enemy's rear-guard, consisting of half of Victor's corps, and attacked it on the following afternoon. After a heavy fire of musketry, which continued

for four hours, by the effect of the artillery, the enemy were thrown into disorder and put to flight: and one piece of artillery, thirty officers, and 1000 men, were taken. The enemy suffered a great loss besides in killed and wounded. Meanwhile I sent a flag of truce to inform the enemy of my superiority of force, and that he was surrounded and must surrender. The courage and valour of the troops under my command, together with General Platoff's arrival at Borisoff, forced the enemy to send two flags of truce, with information that they surrendered.

" At seven o'clock on the morning of the 28th, the remainder laid down their arms, viz. Generals Camuse and Blamont, three Colonels, fifteen Lieut.-Colonels, 184 officers, and 7000 men, and delivered up three pieces of artillery, three standards, and a number of baggage waggons. Among these troops were two regiments of cavalry, one Saxon and one of Berg, with very good horses.

" On such a victory, a similar to which has scarcely hitherto been gained over the French, I take the liberty of congratulating your Majesty, and of laying all these trophies at your Majesty's feet. The loss on our side is not great. I am to-day going to attack Napoleon at the town of Stoudentzi. Admiral Tchichagoff and Count

Platoff will attack him on the other side of the river Berezina."

On the 20th of November Buonaparte had quitted Orcha, intending to proceed to Minsk, where he expected to arrive, or at least on the Berezina, before the Russians. From Orcha to Borrisoff he was continually harassed on his right flank by Count Kutusoff, and obliged to keep on a regular defensive. In the course of a week from his commencing this movement, he lost near 6000 in prisoners, and about the like number were destroyed by the enemy and the weather, so that his forces on the 28th, when he arrived at the left bank of the Berezina, were reduced to 60,000, and destined to experience a series of defeat.—Buonaparte caused a bridge to be thrown over the river at Keubin, fifteen wersts above Borrisoff, and crossed immediately. The horrors of this passage will ever be present

Notwithstanding the daily repeated scenes of distress and misery in the French army, during their retreat from Moscow, the Emperor of the French had lost so little of his usual good humour, that, as he passed the Berezina, in driving over a bridge which was supported by the bodies of his dead soldiers and horses, and to the right and left of which a host of benumbed and drowning were crying out in the agonies of death, he jocosely, in passing on, called those unfortunate beings *Crapeaux* *.

* Toads.

to the memory of the French army: it lasted two days. At its commencement, which was in the greatest confusion, numbers were drowned; but on the appearance of the Russian army, the confusion was beyond all imagination. The artillery, baggage waggons, the cavalry and infantry, pressed forward without the least order to cross the river. Every thing appeared to be lost sight of but the wish to escape from the Russian army; and the confusion continued till the batteries of the latter began to fire on the bridge and banks of the river, which stopped the further passage of the enemy.—On a moderate computation the passage of the Berezina cost the French upwards of 20,000 men killed, wounded, drowned, and prisoners, and a considerable booty.

It has been observed, that the escape of Buonaparte and his guards across the Berezina, was favoured by Admiral Tchichagoff having marched to his right to Sabachevitz, instead of continuing to hold the central point at Borrisoff in the rear of Buonaparte, whence he might have marched on any point of the river with a corps sufficient to prevent the passage. He had also withdrawn a corps under General Chapelily, which had been ordered to guard the passage of the river as far as Brill and Zuntzen on the left.

The Admiral had, however, been informed by Kutusoff that the army would attempt to force the passage on the right of the Admiral's line. Buonaparte availed himself of these false movements, and effected the escape of a part of his army under the circumstances already narrated.

Admiral Tchichagoff lost no time, however, in pursuing without intermission that part of the French army which had crossed the Berezina, and gained repeated advantages over the enemy, who retired by Pletchinichou, Molodetchino *, and Smorgoni, to Wilna, instead of Minsk, which was his first intention.

Major-General Lanskoy, who had been sent on the 26th of November by Fourieff to Pletchinichou, after having gone twelve miles by

* The enemy evacuated this town at midnight, leaving upwards of one thousand of their wounded and diseased companions behind, who were incapable to proceed any further, and as part of Molodetchino had been laid waste, the irritated inhabitants refused all shelter and assistance to these wretches. The cold being extremely severe, ten soldiers heated an oven with the ruins of an old house, and when they thought it sufficiently warm, they took out the coals and cinders, and crept in; they had, however, mistaken the proper degree of temperature, for instead of warming themselves, they were roasted, and the next morning their bodies were found dreadfully burnt, and their clothing in ashes.

cross-roads, on the morning of the 29th fell upon the advanced-guard of the enemy at Pletchinichou, while it was preparing quarters for the Emperor Napoleon. The fruits of this unexpected attack were the capture of General Kamenskoy, two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, 24 officers of different ranks, and 217 soldiers. The advanced-guard of Admiral Tchichagoff, in vigorously pursuing the enemy to Chotinischi, took from them five canons, one colonel, six officers, and above 500 prisoners. Besides an inconsiderable loss of men on the side of the Russians, Major-General Grekow was slightly wounded by a ball in the head.

From the commencement of the campaign it was the object of Buonaparte to reserve and spare his guards, thereby initiating his other corps.—These troops were, therefore, together with six hundred mounted officers, constituting what Buonaparte, in his 29th Bulletin, terms his “Sacred Squadron,” and formed out of the remnants of corps which had been nearly annihilated, and out of the staff, now destined for the personal protection of Napoleon ;—and with this escort he continued his hasty flight.

Buonaparte was, nevertheless, still pursued

by the advanced-guard of Admiral Tchichagoff, and, on the 3d of December, overtaken at Latingal, and vigorously attacked by Major-General Count Ozouzka, when two Saxon standards were taken, and one cannon, and more than 1500 prisoners, among whom were several officers, and one general. The troops of General Count Plattoff took a very active part in this affair. The advanced-guard of Admiral Tchichagoff having approached Molodetchino on the 4th of December, found the bridge destroyed by the enemy; who, having quitted this place about midnight, continued his march to Smorgoni. Major-General Count Ozouzka continued his pursuit, took 500 prisoners, and six cannon; besides which, two cannon were found at Molodetchino. Lieutenant-General Sacken engaged the corps of General Regnier, forming the rear-guard of Prince Schwartzenburg, and obliged the Austrian troops which were advancing to Slonim, to return to Isabeline, in order to reinforce General Regnier. This movement induced Lieutenant-General Sacken to retire upon Scheremoff, in order to be always in the rear of the enemy, in case the latter should attempt to march towards Wilna.

In their retreat after the passage of the Bere-

zina, the French were so wanton and imprudent as to burn all the villages on the road, and the exasperated Russian soldiers and peasants stripped many of their prisoners and turned them loose without covering, in a season of which the severity was extreme—of these it could not be expected that any could survive; and, indeed, most of the other prisoners taken in this retreat perished from want and cold. In the language of a report made to the Emperor Alexander, “punishment followed so quick on these miscreants, that they fell victims to the flames in the dwellings to which they had set fire, and were frozen to death in the very houses which they had destroyed by breaking the doors and windows.”

On the 5th of December Buonaparte had reached Oschimiani, with nine battalions of in-

Napoleon, during the retreat, was always accompanied by his Guards.—The French Emperor never lost sight of the necessary precaution to his own personal safety, for notwithstanding his being surrounded by his faithful Guards, he constantly rode in Marshal Berthier's carriage, letting *his own* follow empty, at a certain distance, under a strong escort. The carriage of the Marshal had but an inadequate escort, and the blinds were constantly drawn up.

After the French Emperor had quieted the fears of all

fantry and about 1000 horse. Here, whilst the French were preparing quarters for the night, the

Frenchmen, who had not joined in the crusade to Moscow, through the 29th Bulletin, and, by deceiving them with false statements of victories and honours gained, notwithstanding the sufferings they had endured, and by endeavouring to impress all Europe with a most sovereign contempt for the Cossacks, he quitted Molodetchino for France, as he neither credited himself the stories he had told to his good and faithful Frenchmen, nor entertained the same contempt for the undisciplined horde of Cossacks which he wished others to do. The following night he remained at Oschimiani, fancying himself perfectly safe from the enemy's pursuit; however, suddenly some Cossacks galloped in full speed through the street where the Emperor lodged.—Napoleon instantly put out all the lights in his room, the Cossacks passed the darkened house, and broke into an adjoining one, which shewed lights, and plundered the same, after which they galloped away in the manner they had come.—Thus again his genius saved him from falling into the hands of the Cossacks.

The inhabitants of Wilna were kept a long time ignorant of the retreat of the French, at least as a retreat, for that the army was moving upon Smolenzk, to threaten Petersburg, was well known; however, unexpectedly the news arrived, that Napoleon would be at Wilna in a few hours.—Monsieur de Bignor, the Governor, did not fail to announce the expected arrival of the Emperor to the town as a peculiar mark of favour, and gave orders that his master should be received with the usual marks of demonstration of joy. The magistrates were not adorned with their robes of office, the colours

Russians fell upon them sword in hand, and cut many of them to pieces.—The enemy again pur-

of the corporations were yet unfurled, when the news was brought that the Emperor, that moment, had passed through the skirts of the town and taken the road to Kowna; every body ran instantly to the spot by which the Emperor was said to have passed, and no person knew how to account for his sudden appearance and disappearance; confusion and terror reigned every where—the French authorities however spread a report of it not having been Napoleon, but the Duke of Vicenza; yet this deception did not last long; for it actually was the Emperor, accompanied by an escort of about 200 of the Neapolitan guard and Uhlans; this escort, however, could only follow him for a few miles beyond Wilna, and from thence only a few of the officers remained, who mounted peasant sledges, as their horses were knocked up, and lost sight of their master one after another.

On the 11th December the Emperor arrived on his flying journey from Russia to Stawisko, a village between Stutzin and Lomiga.—He was unaccompanied by any of the carriages, and of course intent upon remaining incognito. To hasten the further progress of his journey he got out of his carriage, and condescended to inquire after another conveyance; the bystanders recognised him, and shewed the respect due to the Emperor, who uninterrupted by the demonstrations of astonishment and respect, continued to bargain for a sledge with two horses: after the bargain was made the Emperor allowed a Jew to sit near the driver as guide, and thus the journey was continued in full speed to Lomiga, where his Majesty, for the first time, changed cloaths and linen at the postmasters, since his victory on the Berezina.

sued their disastrous retreat ; on the evening of the 9th reached Wilna, and which they evacuated on the 11th.

An officer belonging to Hohenzoller's light cavalry, was passing near Ostrolenka, with a number of remount horses for the Austrian army, when suddenly a Kibetke in full speed came upon the column, upon which the officer ordered the driver to halt, to prevent confusion, when somebody from the vehicle inquired the reason of the unexpected halt.—The officer explained ; the traveller, however, who most likely had no time to lose, would not listen to explanations; and both parties growing warm, some harsh words and threats passed : the scene however terminated as usual, the stronger party had his order enforced, and so the traveller had to halt until the whole column had passed.—About half an hour after, the Duke of Vicenza followed and inquired if the Emperor Napoleon had passed long since, and on the officer asking the description of the Emperor's equipage, the Kibetke was described to him, when it was found that the French Emperor, whose will and pleasure decides the fate of millions, had been obliged to obey a subaltern officer : it may perhaps appear strange that he should not have made himself known in his passion, but it occurred to him most likely that even if he had done so the officer would have doubted his assertion, in consequence of his unusual and un-emperor like appearance.

Great Chiefs and Commanders must know how to benefit by the most trifling occurrences.—It is well known from the French reports themselves, that their cavalry was become a very insignificant part of the army ; but notwithstanding this the Emperor would not entirely give up their use, as appears from the following circumstance.—Not far from Smolenzk a Russian patrolle perceived a French vidette, without the least

From the period of passing the Berezina to the arrival of Admiral Tchichagoff's force at Wilna, that intrepid officer took 150 pieces of artillery, upwards of 700 boxes of cartridges and rammers, and so great a number of baggage wagons, that the road in several places was choaked with them. He likewise captured two standards, some generals, and several thousand prisoners. The enemy's rear-guard was attacked and so much cut to pieces that he continued to fly in disorder, and without any defence; his men dropped down with faintness, and thrown into despair, surrendered themselves. The enemy's loss amounted to 30,000 men; and the roads were covered with their killed and wounded, and men dying with cold.

motion. The patrol, astonished at the singular appearance of the vidette, approached slowly, when the latter began all manner of violent gesticulation on the horse, and on coming still closer, the vidette jumped off the horse, and made his escape in an adjoining wood, the horse remaining quietly on its post; which was found on closer examination to be near its end, and incapable of putting one leg before another; and before the patrol retired it expired.

The Russians had discovered a method to collect and make prisoners the stragglers of the French army, with surprising facility.—When it became dark they made fires at some distance from the roads; instantly the scattered and congealed Frenchmen came forth from the woods and lurking places to warm themselves, and were caught with the greatest facility.

Buonaparte, notwithstanding the numerous advantages * which he has at all times com-

“ Buonaparte has great advantages over his cotemporaries. He was brought up in the world, and in active life. Beginning his career as a subaltern, his profession obliged him to think; and the habit of thinking no doubt taught him to calculate. The revolution enabled him to see men of all descriptions exposed without disguise; and now Emperor, he easily sees through the masks of those who have the vanity or folly to attempt to deceive him. This adventurer is in possession of absolute power, has the means to make that power irresistible, and has experience at an early period of life. He is the patron and protector of all sorts of principles, professions, and prejudices; and is himself bound by none.” The Military Organization of France also gives him great advantages.— By the conscription-laws, every male is liable to serve in the lowest military capacity; there is neither legal exemption, nor privileged preferment; and consequently there is no subject for jealousy in the army, nor for discontent in the community. In France upwards of six millions of men are able to carry arms; of these, two millions and a half are between 18 and 23. Any number of these young men may be armed and put in motion by a *parole d'ordre*; for both the legislation and sovereignty of France are in the staff of the army: the military is the only road to consideration and power; and such is now the reputation of that profession, that, to avoid the contempt of the public, it is necessary either to serve or to have served. These are advantages which no other government possesses.” *Sketches of the Strength of France and Russia.*

manded, was now placed in an extreme perilous situation, more so than any which we have hitherto contemplated:—with a determined enemy surrounding him on all sides, and with his means of transport, and even of defence, daily wasting away, one only chance remained for his personal escape, and that, though attended with peril, he attempted.—On the 5th of December he quitted the army, leaving the chief command to Murat, the King of Naples, and travelled *incog.* in a single sledge, with and under the name of the Duke of Vicenza; on the 14th he arrived at Dresden; and on the 18th at Paris.

Mr. Burke, in his earliest essay, when speaking of Sesostris, in his expedition to the Coasts of the Mediterranean, gives a passage which I cannot avoid quoting: it is truly descriptive of the sanguinary career, and the unjust motives which have directed the conduct of Buonaparte.—He observes, “We shall see this conqueror (the oldest we have on the records of history) opening the scene by a destruction of at least one million of his species, unprovoked but by his ambition, without any motives but pride, cruelty, and madness, and without any benefit to himself; but solely to make so many people, in so distant countries, feel experimentally how severe a scourge Providence intends for the hu-

man race when he gives one man the power over many, and arms his naturally impotent and feeble rage with the hands of millions, who know no common principle of action but a blind obedience to the passions of their ruler."

On the 12th of December the Emperor of Russia issued a proclamation, stating the necessity of keeping up a military force adequate to the circumstances of the times.—In it he observed, that Russia having been invaded by an enemy, leading armies from almost every European nation, had been obliged to make enormous sacrifices; and though, by the aid of the Divine Providence, those armies had been entirely dissipated, and their poor remains were seeking safety in a precipitate flight, yet it becomes necessary to maintain the glory of the empire, by such a military establishment as should insure permanent security. The arm of the Giant was broken, but his destructive strength should be prevented from reviving; and his power over the nations, who serve him out of terror, taken away. Russia, extensive, rich, and pacific, sought no conquests,—wished not to dispose of thrones. She desired tranquillity for herself, and for all. She would not, however, suffer the wicked so to abuse her moderation, as to endanger the well-being of herself, or

of other nations ; that painful as it was to call upon a loyal and affectionate people for new exertions, yet it would be still more painful to see them exposed to calamities for the want of an adequate defence : and that the most grievous calamities would result from the success of her late invaders, was evident, from the enormities they had already committed. The Emperor trusted in God and his brave armies, which could be raised to that imposing number, which was absolutely necessary for the preservation of what had been purchased by so many labours and sacrifices, and so much blood. In consequence, it was ordered :—

1. That there should be a general levy throughout the empire of eight men in every 500.

2. That the governments of Pultowa, Chernigoff, Courland, Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, Bialystok, Tarnapol, and Georgia, should be exempted.

3. That Siberia should have a separate regulation.

4. That the land-owners and citizens who had

furnished men to the militia, should be exempted from this levy.

5. That the levy should be commenced in each government within two weeks, and ended within four, from the publication of this order.

The progress of the Russian army in the pursuit of the enemy still became every hour more rapid and remarkable;—the spell was broken,—the name of invincible no longer appertained to the French eagles.—Every step the Russian forces advanced was a victory, and destructive to the enemy.—At this moment Russia exhibited an exalted aspect to the whole world, and on her efforts new life was given to the expiring embers of continental freedom. Inspired by a thirst of vengeance on an enemy who tacitly admitted that the devastation he had made on their properties was occasioned by their refusing any longer to shut their ports against British shipping, and to give effect to his lawless decrees relative to British manufactures, (which he supposes “ would be an infallible method of forcing England to sue for peace, upon conditions which should annihilate her naval superiority,”) the Russians, when exposed to unavoidable wants from the rapid spirit with which they pursued the enemy, bore them

with courage, and followed up their advantages with the most determined spirit.

Sesslavin came up with a party of the French near Wilna, and attacked them: he took six pieces of cannon and one eagle.—Having afterwards joined a detachment under Major-General Lanskoj, an attempt was made to carry the town of Wilna; but finding themselves too weak for the enemy's infantry, dispersed throughout the houses, they were under the necessity of waiting the arrival of the advanced-guard of Tchichagoff's army.—The following day the enemy were dislodged from Wilna, where they left a great number of cannon, and very considerable magazines.

On the same day, Count Witgenstein having sent out several detachments of cavalry in pursuit, one of these, commanded by the Aide-de-Camp Count Kutusoff, took a corps of Bavarians prisoners, consisting of 126 officers, and 2024 men.—On the 12th of December Field Marshal Kutusoff established his head-quarters at Wilna.

General Count Platoff*, in passing near Wilna

* Sir Robert Wilson has given in his Sketch of the Campaigns of 1806 and 1807 in Poland, the following anecdotes of General Platoff.

on the 11th of December, drove the enemy back about five wersts, as they were defiling in column by Pogoulianka; and having allowed the first column to pass, (with which the Count Orloff-Denisoff had already been engaged) he directed Major-General Nachmanoff and Count Orloff to attack the enemy with spirit from the right flank; and Prince Kasatkin Rostoffsky, with some regiments of hussars and dragoons, from the left. The column of the enemy was divided into two, and entirely destroyed. General Lauzan was made prisoner, 30 officers, and upwards of 1000 men, and they took two pair of colours and two standards. The remainder of the enemy was pursued by the horse artillery to the mountains of Ponary, near which another column was

“ An officer came to General Platoff and demanded an armistice between the advanced posts, and permission to bury the dead which remained on the plain at Zechern: General Platoff answered, that, ‘ the weather being cold, there was no danger of inconvenience from their want of interment, and that he should give himself no thought about their obsequies, but he warned off in future all such frivolous messengers, unless they wished to increase the number of the unburied.’ At Tilsit, when the French Generals sent to request leave to present their compliments to him in person, he answered, “ There might be peace between his sovereign and Buonaparte, but no civilities between him and them;” and he ordered his sentries to admit no French whatsoever in their circle.”

nearly destroyed by the sabre and bayonet ; 28 pieces of cannon, as many tumbrils, with their train complete, fell into the hands of the Russians near this spot.

On the 14th of December, General Count Platoff, in full pursuit of the enemy, arrived at ten o'clock in the morning at Kowno, and the enemy, uniting with the troops in the town, which was surrounded by entrenchments, having redoubts upon its heights, maintained and defended himself with obstinacy, opening at the same time a very considerable fire. The cannonade continued on both sides till dark. In the meantime, Count Platoff ordered his regiments of Don Cossacks to pass the Niemen upon the ice, to menace the enemy upon the left bank of the river, and to force him either to abandon the town as quick as possible, or to surrender. Towards night, two columns, one after the other, made a sortie from the town, but they had hardly passed the river, when the Cossacks vigorously attacked them with their pikes, and dispersed them, leaving a considerable number of killed on the spot. One party of them fled along the river towards Tilsit, another took the road Wilkowiski, being pursued by the *élite* of the Cossacks.—Several officers of rank were amongst the killed, and two standards were taken.

At the capture of Kowna were made prisoners, 80 staff and other officers, and above 500 privates, without reckoning the invalids that were found in the hospitals. During the pursuit of the enemy for three days, and upon his defeat on the Niemen, 5000 were made prisoners, amongst whom were two colonels, and above 160 staff and other officers; and 21 pieces of cannon were taken. Even in this town were found 779 artillery tumbrils complete, and with all their ammunition: and in the magazines 3000 tschetwert of rye and corn.

On the 22d of December the Emperor of Russia arrived at Wilna*, which, from its cen-

* The Earl of Tyrconnel, a young nobleman of very distinguished talents, and Aide-de-Camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and a Captain in the 1st Foot Guards, who had accompanied Lord Cathcart to Russia, died at Wilna on the 20th of Dec. 1812.—His Lordship served with the army under Admiral Tchichagoff, and his zeal and desire to see every transaction of that army led him to expose himself to cold and fatigue beyond his strength, especially during the pursuit of the French from the Berezina to Wilna. It appears that a pulmonic complaint had already made a considerable progress, and these exertions brought on the fatal effects of that disease with great rapidity. He first stated himself to be ill on the 11th of December, the day of his arrival at Wilna, where he expired on the 20th December. His Lordship had the best medical assistance, with every care and attention that could be procured. Field-Marshal Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk

tral situation, was admirably adapted for his Imperial Majesty to direct the movements of the different armies, according as political events might require.

The following is a statement of the captures made by the Russians up to the 26th of Dec.—Up to the 20th of December were taken 33 Generals, 900 officers; 143,000 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 746 pieces of cannon. From the 20th to the 25th of December one General, 156 officers, 9754 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 168 pieces of cannon. Besides these were taken at Wilna, 7 Generals, 242 officers, 14,756 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 217 pieces of cannon.—Total 41

ordered all military honours to be paid to his remains, and directed a monument to be erected in the church of the reformed religion. Lord Cathcart observed on this nobleman's death, that, "it was but justice to the memory of Lord Tyrconnel to say, that in every situation in which he had been placed since he was employed under his embassy, he conducted himself with the utmost zeal and propriety, and gained the esteem of every body to whom he was known in Sweden and Russia." His last letters to his friends were dated the day before his death, and they were full of expressions of exultation at the overthrow of the French army. According to his Lordship's estimate, from the instant that the French left Smolenzk, the average of human beings found frozen to death on the roads, was 1500 daily.

Generals, 1298 officers, 167,510 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 1131 pieces of cannon.

List of French Generals taken up to this period.

St. Genies, General of Brigade; Ferriere, Chief of the Neapolitan Staff; Bonami, General of Brigade; Almeiras, General of Division; Burta, General of Brigade; Meriage, ditto; Klingel, ditto; Preussing, ditto; Camus, ditto; Belliard, ditto; Partono, General of Division; Delitre, Chief of the Staff; Tysskiewiez, General of Brigade; Wasileffski; Augereau, General of Brigade; Kaminsky, ditto; L'Enfantin, ditto; D'Orsan, ditto; Sanson; Pelletier, General of Division; Freir Pego, General of Brigade; Matuszewiez, General of Artillery; Konopka, General of Brigade; Eliser; Blammont, General of Brigade; Cordelier, ditto; Pouget, ditto; Prowbask, ditto; Gauthrise, ditto; Dziwanowski, ditto; Lefevre, ditto; Zajonezell, General of Division; Guillaume, ditto; Wrede, ditto; Seran, ditto; Vivier, ditto; Gussaint, ditto; Normond, ditto; Vonouski, ditto; Roeder, ditto; Troussaint, ditto; Valencin, ditto; Borstell, ditto.

The scattered remnants of Buonaparte's forces were unremittingly pursued by the Russians: the former had now passed the Prussian frontier, and the latter continued to harass their retreat and cut off their supplies. The extreme severity of the weather, and the destructive retreat which the enemy had constantly made,

A proof how general the horse-flesh diet was in the French army is, that the people belonging to the Emperor's own household did not despise that fare. After the taking of Viasma, the carcase of a horse was found in every house which had written on it with chalk "*Maison de l'Empereur.*"

It is well known what care and good treatment the French soldier expects to receive when he comes into quarters after a march; so much so, that they often demand delicacies from the Polish peasant: the retreat from Moscow, however, which astonished so much all Europe, greatly changed the appetite of the French soldiery, as will appear in the following occurrence in the town of Thalodetchnir, where the wife of a professor was standing at a window and making observations upon the deplorable appearance of the French Guards, as they passed by, when suddenly several officers ran into her room towards the fire to warm themselves. In the middle of the room stood a kettle with melted tallow, which the officers no sooner perceived, than they quitted their posts at the stove, and hastened to the kettle, swallowing with great avidity the melted tallow, which they took, in large quantities, out of the kettle. When they had satisfied their hunger, the lady of the house expressed her great surprise at the false appetite which they displayed; to which the officer replied, "that after the fare they had met with since being at Moscow, their stomachs did not turn at any thing, and that after having

drove many of the French soldiers to acts of desperation. Many threw away their arms and

lived for some time on nearly putrid horse-flesh, melted tallow was a great treat to their palates."

From the increase of every misery that could possibly attend an army, the French had arrived at what the ancients termed the golden age, for in regard to the several gradations of rank, at other times so strictly adhered to by the military, it had so entirely ceased, that as to dress, mode of living, and due respect, not the least difference existed between the soldier and the officer; and in regard to money, that article had so completely lost its value, that nothing could be purchased with it, and he who had his pockets well supplied with Napoleons, was by no means richer than he who was not possessed of a single penny. Bread was purchased with tobacco, spirits, pieces of fur, &c. and the period when money might again be of service or value appeared to be so distant, that but few of the most able and bodily-strong speculated on such secondary and trifling concerns as gold and silver. The spirit and practice of exchanging were become so habitual that on the march of the *Grand Army* through the several Polish towns and villages, where the Jews had assembled and lined the streets on both sides, to see the columns pass, the Guards used to take the warm fur caps quietly from off the heads of the Jews, in passing, replace them with their own fine and elegant regimental caps, and march on without uttering a syllable: the Jews returning home with their cold head-dress to their warm rooms, frightened their wives and children by their martial appearance.

In Smolenzk, where the first, and something like a regular distribution of provision was made, the most sanguinary contests were fought at every magazine. An officer had the good

baggage; the greater part had neither boots or any covering to their feet; those who could ob-

fortune to obtain a large cheese, and was moving off as fast as possible to his quarters, when some soldiers met him, and wanted to take the cheese from him: he, however, resisted vigorously, and as the noise became greater, more soldiers arrived on the spot. The officer was knocked down; nevertheless he continued to keep hold of the cheese with his hands and teeth: the soldiers drew their sabres—death appeared before the officer's eyes, but still he held fast his treasure: the soldiers, however, had no intention of murder, but only used their sabres to divide, as quick as possible, the cheese on the officer's body, and every one of them went off with a good piece, and left only a bit of crust to the officer.

The total dissolution of discipline in the French army can easily be imagined, if we consider that order and regularity had been greatly neglected long before the army had passed the Russian frontiers. At Lauenberg, in East Prussia, an order was issued to all Commanding Officers of corps, to take away, and drive on with them all cattle near their cantonments, and what they met on the line of march. After such an order no bounds were to be expected from the soldiers taking what came in their way, and marauding and plundering were the orders of the day: but after they had passed the Niemen they became still more disorderly. At Wilna, where the French head-quarters were, complaints arrived from all parts; and to put an end to this disgraceful conduct, some of the stragglers were shot, but this not having the desired effect, some moveable columns were formed, and sent in all directions to take the marauders, and the executions, which in the beginning were attended with some ceremony, became now so frequent, that the delinquents, without the least notice or ceremony, were shot as they were taken, but all the shooting

tain blankets, wrapped themselves therein, and protected their feet with old hats ; some covered themselves with sacks, mats, and skins of animals, and the dead and dying were stripped to obtain coverings from the cold. In many parts the roads were rendered impassable from the heaps of dead and dying ; the ground on which they bivouaced during the night, resembled, on the ensuing morn, a field of battle.

The subjoined proclamations were at this period issued, and merit attention.

DECLARATION.

“ At the moment of my ordering the armées, under my command, to pass the Prussian frontier, the Emperor, my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations.

“ Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his Imperial Majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterised his policy are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence

had no effect, and at last, on account of the immense number confined, they were obliged to send them in large transports to the galleys, to prevent the liberated Poles witnessing the scenes of such disorganization.

shall be their result. These his Majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon in order to follow that of their real interest. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy whose precipitate flight has discovered its loss of power. It is to Prussia in particular to which this invitation is addressed. It is the intention of his Imperial Majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed, to demonstrate to her king the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the Monarchy of Frederick its éclat and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian Majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part alone, which the wishes of his people, and the interest of his States, demand. Under this conviction, the Emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which for a short time must result from their occupation.

(Signed)

“The Marshal Commander-in-Chief of the Armies,

“PRINCE KUTUSOFF SMOLENZK.”

PROCLAMATION.

“When the Emperor of all the Russias was compelled by a war of aggression, to take arms for the defence of his States, his Imperial Majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations, was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs; and when the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the Sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practise that art, (too much resorted to in modern wars,) of exaggerating, by false statements, the success of her arms. But with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive that in a campaign of only four months’ duration, 130,000 prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides 900 pieces of cannon, 49 stand of colours, and all the waggon train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the Generals taken is hereunto annexed. It will be easy to form an estimate from that list of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken. It is sufficient to say, that out of 300,000 men, (exclusive of Austrians,) who penetrated into the heart of Russia, not 30,000 of them, even if they should be favoured by for-

tune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the Emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontier can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe have always formed the basis of his policy; for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression and to throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their government whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself; and it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis to reconstruct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

The Order of the Day issued by the Marshal General Kutusoff Smolenzk to the troops from Wilna, on the 2d of January, is alike deserving of notice.

Brave and victorious troops! you are at last upon the frontier of the empire. Each of you have been the preserver of the country: Russia has bestowed upon you this title. The rapid pursuit of the enemy, and the extraordinary difficulties that you have supported in this campaign, astonish all nations, and have acquired for you immortal glory. Such brilliant victories are without

example. During two whole months your hand has daily punished the miscreants. The road that they have pursued is strewed with dead bodies. Their Chief, in his flight, sought for his personal safety alone. Death has raged in their ranks : thousands fell together and perished. Thus has the wrath of the Almighty burst over them, and thus hath He protected his people.

Not resting ourselves in the midst of our heroic actions—we must still proceed farther : we must pass our frontiers, and endeavour to accomplish the defeat of the enemy in the face of their allies. But we will not follow the example of their rage and frenzy, which disgrace the soldier. They have burnt our habitations—have violated our sanctuaries ! but you have beheld in what manner the arm of the Almighty has punished their impiety.—Let us be liberal, and make a distinction between the enemy and the peaceable inhabitants ! Justice and clemency towards the latter will manifest most certainly, that we do not seek to enslave them, nor aspire to a vain glory ; but that our object is to free from misery and destruction even those who have taken arms against Russia. The constant desire of His Majesty the Emperor is, that the tranquillity of the inhabitants be not disturbed, and that their property remain in perfect safety. At the same time that he makes known this his sacred desire, he firmly relies that each soldier will pay the utmost attention thereto, and that not one of them will dare to forget it ; and I call upon the Commanders of Corps and Divisions, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, in order that they may strictly adhere to this instruction.

At Wilna, on the 6th of January, the Emperor

Alexander issued the annexed most just and animating proclamation—a proclamation which cannot fail in creating at all times a spirit of interest and universal admiration.

“ God and all the world are witnesses with what objects the enemy entered our dear country. Nothing could avert his malevolent and obstinate intentions.— Proudly calculating on his own force, and on those which he had embodied against us from all the European powers, and hurried on by desire of conquest and thirst for blood, he hastened to penetrate even into the bosom of our great empire, to spread amongst us the horrors and all the misery of a war of devastation, and to come upon us by surprise, but for which he had long been preparing. Having foreseen, by former proofs of his unmeasured ambition and the violence of his proceedings, what bitter sufferings he was about to inflict upon us, and seeing him already pass our frontiers with a fury which nothing could arrest, we have been compelled, though with a sorrowful and wounded heart in invoking the aid of God, to draw the sword, and to promise to our empire that we would not return it to the scabbard so long as a single enemy remained in arms in our territory. We fixed firmly in our hearts this determination, relying on the valour of the people whom God has confided to us; and we have not been deceived. What proofs of courage, of bravery, of piety, of patience, and of fortitude has not Russia shewn? The enemy, who penetrated into her bosom with all his characteristic ferocity and rage, has not been able to draw from her a single sigh by the severe wounds he has inflicted.

It would seem that with the blood which flowed, her spirit of bravery increased ; that the burning villages animated her patriotism, and the destruction and profanation of the temples of God strengthened her faith, and nourished in her the sentiment of implacable revenge. The army, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the merchants, the people, in a word, all classes, all estates of the empire, neither sparing their property or their lives, have breathed the same spirit—a spirit of courage and of piety, a love equally ardent for their God and for their country. This unanimity, this universal zeal, have produced effects hardly credible, such as have scarcely existed in any age. Let us contemplate the enormous force collected from twenty kingdoms and nations, united under the same standard, by an ambitious and atrocious enemy, flushed with success, which entered our country ; half a million of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, accompanied by fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. With forces so powerful, he pierces into the heart of Russia, extends himself, and begins to spread fire and devastation. But six months have scarcely elapsed since he passed our frontiers, and what has become of him ? Let us here cite the words of the holy Psalmist—

“ I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree.”

“ I went by, and lo, he was gone : I sought him, but his place could no where be found.”

PSALM xxxvii. v. 36, 37.

This sublime sentence is accomplished in all its force on our arrogant and impious enemy. Where are his armies, like a mass of black clouds which the wind has drawn together? They are dispersed as rain. A great part wetting the earth with their blood, cover the fields of the Governments of Moscow, Kaluga, Smolenzk, White Russia, and Lithuania. Another part, equally great, has been taken in the frequent battles, with many Generals and Commanders. In fine, after numerous bloody combats, in the end whole regiments, imploring the magnanimity of their conquerors, have laid down their arms before them. The rest, composing a number equally great, pursued in their precipitate flight by our victorious troops, overtaken by cold and hunger, have strewed the road from Moscow to the frontiers of Russia with carcasses, cannons, waggons, and baggage; so that, of those numerous forces, a very inconsiderable part of the soldiers, exhausted and without arms, can, with difficulty, and almost lifeless, return to their country, to serve as a terrible example to their countrymen of the dreadful sufferings which must overtake those rash men, who dare to carry their hostile designs into the bosom of powerful Russia.

To-day we inform our well-beloved and faithful subjects, with a lively joy and grateful acknowledgments towards God, that the reality has surpassed even our hopes; and that what we announced at the commencement of this war, is accomplished beyond all measure: there is no longer a single enemy on the face of our territory, or, rather, there they all remain; but in what

state?—dead, wounded, and prisoners. Even their proud Chief himself has with the utmost difficulty escaped, with his principal officers, leaving his army dispersed, and abandoning his cannon, of which there are more than 1000 pieces, exclusive of those buried or thrown into the water, which have been recovered, and are now in our hands. The scene of the destruction of his armies surpasses all belief. One almost imagines that our eyes deceive us. Who has been able to effect this? Without derogating from the merited glory of the Commander-in-Chief of our armies, this distinguished General, who has rendered to his country services for ever memorable, and without detracting from the merits of other valiant and able commanders, who have distinguished themselves by their zeal and ardour, nor from the general bravery of their troops, we must confess that what they have accomplished surpasses all human power. Acknowledge, then, Divine Providence in this wonderful event. Let us prostrate ourselves before his sacred throne, and evidently seeing his hand chastising pride and impiety, instead of boasting and glorying in our victories, learn from this great and terrible example to be modest and peaceable executors of his law and his will; to resemble not those impious profanators of the temples of God, whose carcasses, without number, now serve as food for dogs and crows. God is mighty in his kindness and in his anger. Let us be guided by the justice of our actions, and the purity of our sentiments, as the only path which leads to him. Let us proceed to the temple of his sanctity, and there, crowned with his hand, thank him for the benefits which he has bestowed upon us; addressing to him our ardent supplications, that he will ex-

tend to us his favour, and put an end to the war; granting us victory on victory, and the wished-for peace and tranquillity.

On the same day the Emperor issued a second proclamation, announcing his intention to erect in the capital of his empire, a church dedicated to Jesus Christ, in eternal remembrance of the unexampled zeal, of the fidelity, patriotism, and love for religion, by which the Russian nation distinguished itself in the time of calamity, and to witness his gratitude towards Divine Providence for preserving his empire from the ruin which menaced her.

The Emperor remained sixteen or seventeen days at Wilna, where his Imperial Majesty issued many regulations and decrees for the restoration of order in various provinces which had suffered, and for prevention of disease from the infection of prisoners, and from the number of dead bodies and quantity of carrion still above ground. In the neighbourhood of Wilna, sixteen thousand corpses* were piled up in heaps, for the purpose of being consumed by fire, when

* In conformity to directions issued by the Russian government, for the complete destruction of the dead bodies of men and horses belonging to the enemy, which fell in battle, or perished from the cold, and had not been committed to

sufficient wood could be procured; numbers were uncollected in the roads and villages; and the mortality in the hospitals at Wilna was for a time very great. The Emperor repeatedly visited all the hospitals. From Wilna the pursuit was carried on in separate routes upon Kowna by General Witgenstein and the distinguished Hetman Platoff, but the former hav-

the earth, the following reports were transmitted by the governors of different provinces:—

“ In the government of Minsk up to the end of January, 18,797 dead bodies of men, and 2746 of horses had been burned; and there still remained to be burned, of the former, 30,106, and of the latter 27,316, the greater part of which were found on the banks of the Berezina. In the government of Moscow, up to the 15th of February, 49,754 dead bodies of men, and 27,849 of horses, had been burnt, besides a number of others that were buried. In the government of Smolenzk, up to the 2d of March, 71,733 dead bodies of men, and 51,430 of horses, had been committed to the flames. In the government of Wilna, up to the 5th of March, 72,202 dead bodies of men, and 9407 of horses, had been put under ground. In the government of Kaluga, up to the 11th of March, 1017 human corpses, and 4384 dead horses, had been burnt. The sum of the whole was 213,516 human corpses, and 95,816 dead horses, exclusive of many others either burned or buried, of which no account was taken. The strictest measures have been taken for destroying, before the approach of spring, the dead bodies that may be found in the rivers or woods.

“ *April 20, 1813.*”

ing taken and destroyed many of the enemy in his line of march, he proceeded to the Niemen, and to Younbourg.

Marshal Macdonald, in his retreat from Riga*, was pursued by the Marquis Paulucci, who divided his force into two columns, the one marching from Mittau on the 22d of December,

* This flourishing and important town, capital of the government of Livonia, and next to St. Petersburg in rank as a commercial city, deserves a distinguished place among the cities of Europe. The trade is chiefly carried on by foreign merchants, who are resident here, and great encouragement is given to strangers to settle among them, the people being public-spirited and liberal; the English have a factory here, and enjoy the greatest proportion of the commerce. The principal exports are corn, hemp, flax, iron, timber, masts, leather, and tallow.

It is well situated, being five miles from the mouth of the Dwina: on the gulf of Livonia, it has the convenience of a floating bridge, formed of wood, which is removed at the approach of winter, and replaced when the ice disappears—it has a draw-bridge to admit the passage of ships, and from it are seen several beautiful little islands. It has a well-built town hall and exchange, also an imperial palace. The whole of the population of this city, comprising those within the fortifications, the suburbs, and the garrison, is computed at 27,000.

by Frauenberg toward the coast; the other by Grunhoff, more inland; they both, however, united at Polangen, and from thence proceeded on the 27th to Memel, which they occupied, making the garrison prisoners, and getting possession of the magazines, &c. Count Witgenstein's army advanced along the course of the Niemen towards Tilsit, in the neighbourhood of which place a detachment under Colonel Tettenborne had a slight affair on the 28th of December.

On the 30th, Count Witgenstein having entirely cut off Macdonald from D'York, the latter signed the following convention, by which he agreed to remain neutral with the troops under his command, consisting of thirty battalions of infantry, and six squadrons of cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery. The terms granted to the Prussians were extremely liberal. A detached corps, under General Massenbach, was included, in the event that orders could reach him: these orders were in time, and with the addition of the corps in question, the Prussian troops included in the convention, amounted to 15,000 men. Marshal Macdonald, however, availed himself successfully of stratagem, and, while treating for conference, had made progress in removing the remainder of his

force in the direction of Labiau. He was closely pursued during the night from the 1st to the 2d of January, and lost six hundred prisoners ; but reports being received of a French corps in force at Wehlaw, it became necessary to direct the attention of the principal part of the pursuers to an attack upon that post.

CONVENTION.

Art. 1. The Prussian corps shall occupy in the interior of the Prussian territory, the line along the frontier from Memel and Munnerstadt to the road from Woinceta to Tilsit ; from Tilsit the road which passes through Schellapischkeu and Melankeu to Labiau, comprehending the towns which it touches, shall determine the extent of the country which the Prussian corps is to occupy. This territory shall be bounded on one side by the Curischaff, so that all this extent shall be considered as perfectly neutral as soon as the Prussian troops shall have occupied it.

It is well understood that the Russian troops are to be allowed to pass and repass upon the great road (routes) prescribed, but they shall not take up their quarters in the towns of this arrondissement.

Art. 2. The Prussian troops shall remain in perfect neutrality in the arrondissement designated by Art. 1, till the arrival of orders from his Majesty the King of Prussia ; but they engage in the event of his Majesty ordering them to rejoin the Imperial French troops, not to fight

against the Russian armies for two months from the present day.

Art. 3. In the event of his Majesty the King of Prussia, or of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, refusing to ratify the present convention, the Prussian corps shall be at liberty to march wherever the King shall call it.

Art. 4. All stragglers shall be given up to the Prussian corps which shall be found on the great Mittau road, and likewise every thing which forms part of the *material* of the army. In respect to the provisions and train of the said corps, and every thing belonging to it, they shall pass without obstacle, past the Russian armies, to rejoin from Koningsberg, or farther, the Prussian corps d'armée.

Art. 5. In the event of Lieutenant-General D'York's orders being still able to reach Lieutenant-General Massenbach, the troops which are under the command of the latter shall be comprehended in the present convention.

Art. 6. All the prisoners which the Russians, commanded by Major-Gen. Deibitsch, shall make from the troops under the orders of General de Massenbach, shall likewise be comprehended in this convention.

Art. 7. The Prussian corps shall retain the power of concerting about every thing which relates to its provisioning, with the provincial Regencies of Prussia, not even excepting those provinces which may be occupied by the Russian arms.

On the same day that General D'York concluded this convention, he addressed a letter to the Duke of Tarentum, in which, after acquainting him with the objects of the measure, he observes, "Whatever be the judgment that the world may pass on my conduct, I shall be very indifferent to it. Duty towards my troops, and the most mature deliberation, dictated it—the most pure motives, whatever appearances may be, guided me."

Macdonald, left with more than 5000 men, now attempted to effect a speedy junction with some of the troops from Koningsberg, who with that view came out to meet him, but were compelled to fall back by General Steingel, whom Witgenstein had dispatched to frustrate this part of the French plan, he himself in the meanwhile closely pursuing Macdonald. Tchichagoff, who had also by this time reached the Pregel, advanced along the course of that river, preceded by Platoff with his Cossacks, through Gumbinnen and Insterburg towards Koningsberg. General Schepeleff, however, who commanded Witgenstein's van-guard, reached that fortress first, by the way of Labiau, where the French had taken an advantageous position, and at which they in vain attempted to make a stand, on the 4th of January, by an obstinate defence :

the battle continued till noon, when the enemy being driven from their position, they retreated towards Koningsberg.

On the 6th of January, Koningsberg, the ancient capital of Prussia, was occupied by Count Witgenstein's advanced-guard, under the orders of Major-General Schepeleff. Marshal Macdonald had occupied the town, with a corps d'armée, composed of the old French Guards, and some troops who had escaped the general destruction of the enemy's Grand Army. The wreck of his particular corps, constituting part of this total, was reduced to 2500 men; after the Prussians separated from them, there remained to him in all about 7000 men. At the approach of the advanced-guard, which briskly pursued, the enemy, without halting, passed by Koningsberg, and abandoned it to Major-General Schepeleff, who entered it without meeting any resistance.

The French fled in the greatest confusion towards the Vistula; but there were taken in Koningsberg 1300 prisoners, besides 8000 sick, 30 pieces of the battering-train from before Riga, &c. Count Witgenstein arrived at Koningsberg on the 7th. On the 9th he followed the army, which continued driving the remains of the

French toward the Vistula. On the 12th Admiral Tchichagoff and Count Platoff took possession of the fortresses of Marienwerder, Marienburg, and Elbing ; and on the following days, having crossed the Vistula and the Nogat, a branch of the same river, they pursued the French in different directions, on the roads to Dantzic, Stargard, and Grandenz.

When the Russians entered Marienwerder *, on the 12th of January, the Viceroy of Italy and Marshal Victor were scarcely able to escape from the Cossacks. General La Pierre, four officers, and 200 men were made prisoners ; likewise a courier, expedited by Napoleon to the Prince of Neufchatel, with dispatches. On the road to Nuenburg, Lieutenant-Colonel Adrianoff, in pursuing the enemy, met a squadron of Baden troops, destroyed it almost entirely, and took 47 prisoners. The corps from Elbing and Marien-

* This is an extremely well-built city, the streets spacious, handsome, and well paved : the palace or castle is in the Gothic style of architecture, and deserving the attention of travellers. The cathedral of Marienwerder is the largest church in all Prussia, and within its walls are many remains of antiquity ; it has likewise fortifications of considerable strength, which lead to a supposition that it has been used as a fortress. In the year 1709, Peter the Great, and Frederick the 1st, had an interview in this city.

burg, being drawn from the Nogat, attempted to make a stand at the tête-du-pont at Derschoff, about four German miles from Dantzic; a sanguinary affair took place, but the enemy were soon compelled to abandon their post, and retired, part upon Dantzic, and the remainder upon Stargard, pursued by the Russians.

It appears that the troops stationed in Dantzic advanced to the Pregel, to favour Marshal Macdonald's retreat; and that they made no resistance at Elbing, having abandoned their artillery before their arrival at that place. The attack upon Marienwerder seems to have been nearly a surprise, and from it, as already stated, Beauharnois and Marshal Victor narrowly escaped being made prisoners.

Whilst the foregoing operations were going on in the neighbourhood of the Baltic coasts, some advances, though slower, were made against the Saxons and Austrians, beyond Warsaw. General Sachen (a brave officer, he commanded the centre at Polotzk and Eylau; commanded at Zechern, two miles in front of Heilsberg, and repulsed the French; as he did soon after in the neighbourhood of Wormdit,) who was at Ruzana, advanced against Regnier with the Saxons,

and General Wasillchikoff, who was at Grodno, against Schwartzenburg with the Austrians. Sachen, on the 25th of December, took possession of the town of Brescz Litoff, and from thence proceeded along the Bug to Grannym. Wasillchikoff, having been joined by four regiments of Don Cossacks, pursued Schwartzenburg along the course of the Narew, and the latter dividing his corps into three columns, gradually approximated to Warsaw, by the way of Ostrolenka and Polotzk.

The Prussians, in every direction, received the Russian troops in a friendly and open manner, and provided them willingly with provisions and their horses with forage, for which they gave them their receipts. In return for their good conduct, the most rigorous discipline and subordination were observed, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants.

The retreat of the French armies through the kingdom of Prussia was, like that from Moscow, marked by the most savage ferocity and devastation; the abandonment of magazines, tumbrils, and other stores. Some idea may be formed of the misery of their retreat, by two returns which were intercepted of the 4th French Voltigeurs and 6th Tirailleurs. The former, when it left

Smolenzk, consisted of 32 officers and 427 privates, of whom there remained under arms on the 16th of December, only 10 officers and 29 privates. The latter, consisting of 31 officers and 300 privates, mustered, on the 31st of December, only 14 officers and 10 privates.

The Emperor of Russia moved, in the night of the 7th of January, from Wilna, to join the division which comprehends the guards, and the head-quarters of the whole army were at Merez, on the 10th; on the 13th they were at Ratschky, and the Emperor crossed the Niemen near Moretz on that day, amid the acclamations of his brave troops, and continued to march with a division of his army, in a western direction, through Berjuiki, Krasnople, and Subalki, to Lique, where he established his head-quarters on the 19th. Generals Miloradovitch and Dochteroff (it was this gallant officer who reinforced Prince Gallitzin at the affair of Golymin, on the day of the battle of Polotzk, and enabled him to drive back the enemy from every point) with the troops which crossed the frontier at Grodno, moved in a line parallel to that of the Emperor, on his left, whilst General Sachen's column was still farther to the left. There were also intermediate corps to keep up the communication between each of these co-

lums. The Austrians remained upon the Bug, with a view to create a diversion in favour of the army retiring upon Dantzic, as long as their own line of retreat might remain open.

In the meantime Count Platoff, with his gallant Cossacks *, continued to pursue the enemy

* The following account of the Cossacks is extracted from Prince Potemkin's memoirs.

“ The Russian army was considerably increased under Potemkin. He submitted to the empire a nursery of soldiers, who till then had been nominally its subjects, but of very little service. The Cossacks had formed a volunteer militia, governed by republican laws, which no one before him dared to attempt to alter, and which Potemkin abrogated. He formed the Cossacks into regiments, and subjected them to the same recruiting laws and discipline as the other troops. He afterwards employed them in their true character at the outposts, but regulated their service according to the principles and tactics proper for this kind of warfare, to which they never had attended before. He showed by the effect which these changes produced with Cossacks, of what utility they might be to the Russian army. Potemkin esteemed them much, and was beloved by them. They almost adored Suwaroff, who, equally fond of them, taught them to serve with the greatest distinction. Having been but recently organized, the Cossacks are not what they may become. If the Russian government continues its attention to the improvement of those troops, it may convert the brave, intelligent, faithful, numerous, indefatigable, and warlike Cossacks into the principal instrument of its successes, and the terror of its enemies.”

to the suburbs of Dantzic, and surrounded that city with his troops to cut off all communication with it, where he was joined by detachments under Major-General Iloviaskoy and Kachosky.

The situation of Prussia was, about this time, exceedingly singular. The capital in the hands of a French garrison; the inhabitants looking eagerly for the arrival of the Russians, and flattering themselves that the King, with troops he was collecting in Silesia, would declare against their oppressors the French. What were the real intentions of that Sovereign, or whether he was yet decided how to act, it seemed difficult to discover. In the month of January, Berlin daily exhibited scenes of tumult and disorder; the populace having repeatedly risen against the French, whom they occasionally succeeded in confining to their barracks. Meanwhile a regency had been established in the name of the King, at Koningsberg, of which the ex-minister Stein, who had been an object of French persecution, was the president. This regency had issued a proclamation, calling on the loyal and patriotic inhabitants of Prussia to come forward and rescue their king and country from French thralldom; nor was the call in vain. The young men were eagerly running to arms, and

joining their brethren under the command of General D'York, who had been nominated, by the regency, Commander-in-Chief of the patriotic army.

By the declaration of Buonaparte in his exposé issued at this period, that fresh French troops were going to the Oder, "to set bounds to the system of Russian invasion;" it is to be observed that the Oder was now the acknowledged bound of the French hopes of defence, and the entrenched camp at Kunersdorf was declared to be the point of assemblage for a new grand army. Meanwhile Dantzic, Warsaw, Thorn, and indeed all the fortresses beyond the Oder, were left by the enemy to their fate. The former, as already mentioned, was closely invested, and all communications cut off, by the cordon which Platoff had drawn round it; and St. Cyr had in vain attempted to re-open the communication.

The advance of the Russians and their extraordinary rapid progress, with the wide extent of country over which they were now spread, seemed to prove that they must be supported by an almost universal insurrection; otherwise their conduct would have been inconsistent with the most obvious rules of prudence; and instead of

the line of the Vistula, or the entrenched camp in front of the Oder, which Buonaparte had lately acknowledged as the bounds of the French hopes of defence, his expectations became therefore confined to the army of observation of the Rhine.

The head-quarters of the Russian army, which were on the 19th at Lique, had been moved by the 26th, nearly 120 miles, to Willenberg, in a direction rather inclining to the westward of the Warsaw road, by which means they had got into the rear of the Austrian position at Pultousk. Previously to this, General Miloradovitch, supported by Winzingerode, Wasillchikoff, and Pahlen, had advanced as far as Prasnitz, the Austrians gradually retiring before him, and successively abandoning Smadovo, Novogrodck, and Ostrolenka, on the river Narew. Regnier now retired to Posen, from which place Davoust had marched to Stettin, on the side of Dantzic. Count Worrzonoff had advanced to Bromberg, and made himself master of the large magazines collected there by the enemy, to cover which, and to observe Thorn, General Tchichagoff approached the latter fortress.

Count Rastapchin, the brave and virtuous governor of Moscow, was now appointed minister

of the interior of Russia, and the Ex-Prussian Minister Stein, whose enmity to Buonaparte had called forth a furious proclamation against him, was made a Russian cabinet minister ; Kutusoff, Witgenstein, and their brother generals, had the most distinguished honours heaped upon them.—These brave men had saved their country by patriotic and strenuous endeavours, they had saved their country, without adding a foot of ground to its territory ; and Alexander following the practice of Rome *, shewed by the most munificent rewards every disposition to recompence exertions against the common enemy.

On the 7th of February, Major-General Count Worronzoff continued his march to Posen with his detachment, keeping open the communica-

* “ Rome s’est trouvée dans des situations malheureuses, où elle a dû prodiguer toute sa reconnaissance à ces généraux qui avoient protégé la patrie, sans ajouter ni rendre à sa domination un pouce de terrain. Ce ne sont pas Scipion ou Pompée, mais Camille et Marius, que la reconnaissance publique ce associés avec Romulus dans le titre de fondateur de Rome. Ces grands hommes ont repoussé les débordements des barbares ; ils en ont exterminé les armées, mais ils n’ont jamais songé à les poursuivre, pour les attaquer dans leurs pays dont ils connoissoient à peine la situation.”

Gibbon’s “ Recueil de ses Observations.”

tions on his right with Tschernischeff's detachment; and on his left, with the corps under Winzingerode; whilst Admiral Tchichagoff's corps, invested the fortress of Thorn on all sides. General Miloradovitch's corps, on the 5th of February, crossed over to the left bank of the Vistula. Major-General Paskevitch, with the 7th corps, took possession of Sakroczin, and pushed posts of Cossacks for observations as far as Modlin, under the very guns of which they made 30 prisoners. On the 6th of February, General Miloradovitch, in order to induce the enemy to quit Warsaw, caused his troops to approach nearer to the place, and detached parties of cavalry, who surrounded a great part of it.

On the 4th of February, the enemy wishing to procure provisions from the villages about Dantzic, made a sally on the left wing, towards Brentau, but was immediately received by the Cossack regiment of Rebritoff, and the 1st Baschkir regiment, under the command of Major Latschkin, who, after having very much weakened the enemy and made some prisoners, notwithstanding his obstinate endeavours, obliged him to retreat. At the same time a strong column of infantry, with a number of cavalry, appeared on the Russian left flank, opposite the village of Nenkau, and at first drove in their advanced

posts. A Cossack chief, named Meinikoff, taking advantage of this movement, collected several detachments of Cossacks, rode round the enemy's wing, and falling unexpectedly upon his rear, threw him into total confusion; the consequence was, that the whole column was cut off from the city, and not a single man returned into the fortress: 600 men were cut down on the spot, and 200 privates and 73 officers were made prisoners. General Tchernicheff, with his detachment, took possession of the villages of Schochau, Friedland, and Flatoff.

The victorious Russian troops were every where met by the inhabitants with joy, and acknowledged as their deliverers. Prince Schwartzenburg's corps was, by their motions, forced to retreat; and on the 8th of February, General Miloradovitch took possession of the city of Warsaw. On his arrival at the village of Wilanoff, he was met by the deputies of the corporations of the nobility, merchants, and clergy, headed by the prefect, sub-prefects, and mayors of the city, who presented to him bread, salt, and the keys of Warsaw.

On the 6th of February, in consequence of a disposition made by Count Witgenstein, Major-General Count Sievres, commanding in Ko-

ningsberg, received orders to march against Pillau, with all the troops and artillery then in Koningsberg, and to which were added 2000 infantry and batteries of artillery from the army, and to summon the French garrison to surrender. In pursuance of these orders General Count Von Sievres arrived, on the 6th of February, with those troops, about 6000 men strong, and a proportionable quantity of artillery, in the village of Old Pillau, within 2000 paces of the fortress:—the troops posted themselves partly in front of this village and partly on the heights situated at the right and left of it, and partly on the Nehrung point, at a proper range of shot, and the commanding General immediately sent the following summons, for the surrender of the citadel and the Nehrung fort, to the Commandant of the French garrison.

“GENERAL,

“You must be convinced that both the town and fortress of Pillau are surrounded by so very superior a force that all resistance on your side would not only be fruitless, but merely tend to encrease the effusion of blood, of which there has already been too much this war, and would unnecessarily expose the town to devastation.

"I therefore summon you, General, to evacuate the fortress, and to accept a capitulation for the Imperial French troops, which shall be made as favourable as the condition in which they are situated will allow.

"I beg you to receive the assurance of the most perfect respect, with which I have the honour to sign myself, General, your very obedient servant,

"COUNT VON SIEVRES,

"Commanding General of the Imperial Russian troops lying before Pillau.

"Head-quarters, Old Pillau, January 25, (6th Feb)."

This proposal led to the happy conclusion of a convention, according whereto the Imperial French troops, on the 8th of February, at eight o'clock in the morning, quitted the town and fortress of Pillau, and the fort of Nehrung, which had been garrisoned by them ever since the month of May, 1812.

In conformity to the convention made with the garrison, the Imperial French General Castella was to march out with the troops under his command, with their arms, ammunition, and baggage, and to retire with the same to the left

bank of the Rhine, where they were to be released from all obligations. Such Imperial Russian subjects as might possibly be found among the garrison of Pillau, were to be delivered up to the commanding Russian General. An Imperial Russian Officer was to accompany the column to its place of destination, their baggage not to be subjected to any search, the French General, Castella, having declared upon his word of honour that there was nothing amongst it belonging to the Russians.

'The garrison, which marched out, consisted of about 1200 men, and the number of their sick left behind, amounted to about 400.

On the 9th, the Imperial Russian troops returned to the army, and only the Royal Prussian troops that were in the town and citadel, remained behind to garrison them.

The Imperial Russian Colonel, Baron Von de Pahlen, was appointed governor of the town.

On the 6th of February, the Emperor Alexander, with 28,000 men, arrived at Polotzk; he was received with unanimous acclamations of joy. Indeed the mild and sagacious policy

of the Russians in entering the provinces of the north as friends and deliverers, and restoring the national functionaries, gave great assistance to their exertions. Their advance into Europe was accompanied with every circumstance calculated to endear their cause to the nations around them. They resorted to the press, as the most formidable auxiliary which they could use for the overthrow of the oppressors of Europe. They disseminated proclamations and other publications over the Continent, and their conciliatory offers were hailed with eagerness at Warsaw, Berlin, Hamburg, and Dresden. The press, which has been so long fettered by the French—worse than fettered, compelled to disseminate falsehood throughout Europe, since the successes of the Russians, began again to exercise its legitimate functions.—Wherever the allies carried their arms, the press was occupied in exposing the malignant and deceitful policy which has been so invariably pursued by the revolutionary tyrants.

Lord Cathcart, who had remained at St. Petersburg, ever since the departure of the Emperor Alexander, framing a negotiation with the Danish Minister, the basis of which friendly arrangement was, a free trade to Norway, the recal of the Danish letters of marque, the ex-

clusion of all French privateers from Danish ports, and the mutual release of prisoners, quitted that capital on the 31st of January, for the headquarters of Alexander; and on the 6th of March was with his Majesty at Kalitsch, a place about one hundred and fifty miles from Dresden, and fifty from Breslaw, in Silesia.

At the latter end of January, the King of Prussia, who felt himself whilst at Potsdam entirely in the power of the French General and garrison of Berlin, resolved on obtaining his personal freedom by a sudden and unexpected removal to Breslaw. Having arrived there, he, on the 3d of February, issued proclamations to his subjects, calling on them to arm in support of their king and country.

This patriotic call was well understood throughout Prussia, and thousands of volunteers, in all parts of the kingdom, presented themselves for enrolment. Mortified and enraged at this sight, Beauharnois, the Commander of the French armies, who, in his disastrous flight, had sought refuge in Berlin, forbade the recruiting enjoined by the Royal Prussian decree. This unparalleled affront could have no other

effect than to excite the indignation of the King and his people. Meanwhile, the Russians advanced victoriously through Poland.—On the 8th of February, as already stated, General Miloradovitch had taken possession of the city of Warsaw, and the citizens immediately addressed a proclamation to their brethren fighting under the banners of the enemy, calling them to return to their homes.

The Emperor Alexander triumphed as much by his clemency as by his arms. The Austrians concluded an unlimited truce, in virtue of which they withdrew into Galicia; and the Saxons, under Regnier, profited of this circumstance to retire behind the Austrians toward their own country. On the evening of the 13th of Feb. however, General Winzingerode came up with General Regnier at Kalitsch. The enemy directed their movements upon the city, to form a junction with from 3 to 4000 Poles, who had fifteen pieces of cannon with them, and found themselves at the very instant attacked by the Russian troops with their characteristic ardour. The result of this attack was most honourable to the Russians, as the enemy's infantry, who were in superior force, made a brave and obstinate resistance. Two Saxon standards, seven pieces of cannon, the Saxon General, Nostitz,

three Colonels, thirty-six officers, and 2000 privates, were the trophies of this day. General Winzingerode's advanced-guard pursued the enemy, who retreated upon Raczkowo and Ostrowo.

In this state of things, the King of Prussia offered himself as a mediator between the chief belligerents. On the 15th of February, he proposed a truce, on condition that the Russian troops should retire behind the Vistula, and the French troops behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia, and all its fortresses, free from foreign occupation.—These terms were, doubtless, exceedingly favourable to the beaten and discomfited enemy, who had so lately threatened to annihilate the independence both of Russia and Prussia. However, they were sullenly rejected by Buonaparte; whilst, on the other side, the Emperor Alexander testified sentiments of such liberality toward the Prussian monarchy and nation, as could not but insure to him their cordial attachment.

The patriots accordingly crowded around their Sovereign at Breslaw: they represented, that the moment was at length arrived to shake off the degrading yoke, to which, in common with all Germany, their nation had been so long subjected: they wisely and energetically insisted,

that there was but one line to be adopted—an alliance offensive and defensive with Russia.—Truth, honour, and justice prevailed.

On the 22d of February, a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, was mutually consented to by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and an active combined system of military operations arranged. The plenipotentiaries were Marshal Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, and the Chancellor Baron Hardenberg. On the 17th of February the Emperor Alexander issued another animating ukase to his army, in which he informed them, that a medal of distinction should be given to all those who distinguished themselves in the campaign of 1812*.

* *Ukase of his Imperial Majesty to the Army.*

Warriors!—The glorious and memorable year has expired in which, through your unheard-of exploits, the formidable enemy, who in his arrogance dared to press forward into the interior of our empire, has been punished and driven back. This year of glory has fled, but your heroic deeds will remain for ever; time shall never sink them in oblivion—they will live in the recollection of posterity. At the expense of your blood you have rid your native land of the princes and people who were combined against it. Your valorous efforts, your deeds, your perseverance, have procured for you the gratitude of Russia, and the esteem of foreign nations. You have shown

The King of Prussia also issued the following proclamations to his subjects and to the army.

"TO THE PUBLIC.—It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people, or Germany, of the motives for the war which is now commencing: they are evident to impartial Europe.

the world by your valour and your constancy, that when the heart is penetrated with the truths of religion and full of piety, the assaults of the enemy, though like the stormy waves of the ocean, are dashed in pieces against this impregnable rock, and die away in murmuring foam.

Warriors!—To make known, by a mark of distinction, all such as have co-operated in these great deeds, we have ordered a silver medal to be struck. The ever-memorable year 1813 will be engraven upon it; and suspended from a blue ribband, it will ornament the manly breast, that impenetrable shield of our native land. Every one of you is worthy of receiving this honourable badge, because all of you have undergone considerable hardships, and all are animated with the same spirit. Proud may you be of having earned this emblem of valour: it will ever distinguish you as the faithful sons of your country. The enemy must tremble when he beholds this honourable badge: he will feel, that under this silver shield glows unconquerable valour, not leading to avarice or impiety, but which rests its firmest grounds in holy religion, and in unmixed love of our country.

(Signed) **ALEXANDER.**

Feb. 17, 1813.

“We bent under the superior power of France. That peace which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings; it on the contrary hurt us more than war itself.

“The heart of our country was impoverished.—The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity.

“By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my people, and at last to convince the French Emperor that it was his own interest to have Prussia independent; but my intentions, my exertions to obtain so desirable an object, proved fruitless—nothing but haughtiness and treachery was the result.

“We discovered, but rather late, that the Emperor’s conventions were more ruinous to us than open wars. The moment is now arrived in which no illusion respecting our condition can remain.—Brandenburghers! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithunians!—You know what you have suffered during the last seven years. You know what a miserable fate awaits you, if we do not honourably finish the now commencing contest.

“Remember former times! Remember the illustrious Elector, the Great Frederick! Remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended, under their direction—

the liberty of conscience—honour—independence—trade—industry—and knowledge.—Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians! Think of the Spaniards and Portuguese; small nations have even gone to battle for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory!—Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands. Great sacrifices are requested from all ranks, because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so.

“ You will make them sooner for your country and your king, than for a foreign regent, who by so many examples has proved he would take your sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious victory.

“ But, however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given, for which we combat, and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans.

“ We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence, our independence, and our property. There is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious ruin.

“ Even this you would manfully support for your honour, because a Prussian and German cannot live without it. But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose, will give our just cause victory, and with

this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"Breslaw, March 17."

"To MY ARMY.—Often have you expressed your wishes of fighting for the liberty and independence of your country. The moment for doing it is now arrived; there is no member of the nation by whom this is not felt. Youths and men voluntarily fly to arms. What in them is free-will, is to you who belong to the standing army, a call.

"From you, ordained to defend the native country, she is entitled to demand what is offered by the others.

"See! what numbers forsake every thing they hold dear, to venture their lives with you in their country's cause. You will, therefore, doubly feel your sacred duty!

"May all of you, on the day of battle, or in time of trouble, keep in mind moderation and due discipline. Let individual ambition, be it either in the highest or lowest of the army, sink before that of all. He that feels for his country, does not think of self. May the envious meet contempt, when the general welfare only is concerned.

“ Every thing else must now give way to this—victory proceeds from God ! Shew yourselves worthy of his high protection by obedience and fulfilling your duties. Let courage, constancy, loyalty, and good discipline, be your renown !—Follow the example of your forefathers ; be worthy of them, and remember your posterity !

“ A sure reward will fall on him who distinguishes himself ; deep disgrace and punishment on him who forgets his duty.

“ Your King will always be with you, and with him the Crown Prince, and the princes of his house. They will fight along with you.

“ They and the whole nation will combat with you, and at our side. A valiant people will come to our assistance, and to the assistance of all Germany—a people that, by glorious deeds, has secured its independence. They relied on their sovereign, their leader, their cause, their own strength ; and God was with them ; so will it be with you ; for we also fight the great fight, for the independence of our country.

“ Confidence in God, courage, and perseverance ! be our word.

(Signed) “FREDERICK WILLIAM.”

The French ambassador, St. Marsan, who was a spectator of the interview between Alexander and the King of Prussia, was, on the following day, on the point of presenting a remonstrance to the Prussian Chancellor, but was prevented by a note from the latter, formally acquainting him that Prussia was at war with France, and assigning the reasons for this step. A similar, but more detailed note *, was presented, on the 27th March, at

* Paris, March 27, 1813.

MONSIEUR LE DUC,

I have just received an order from my Sovereign to lay before you the following :—The propositions which I have anteriorly had the honour of submitting to you were of a nature to merit a reply equally prompt as decisive. The progress of the Russian arms in the centre of the monarchy, does not permit Prussia any longer to prolong that state of uncertainty in which she is. On one side the Emperor of Russia, united to the King by bonds of personal friendship, offers Prussia in this decisive moment, the support of his power, and the advantages of his friendship ; on the other, his Majesty the Emperor of the French persists in repulsing an ally who has sacrificed himself in his cause, and disdains even to *explain himself* upon the motives of his silence. For a length of time France has violated, in every point, the treaties which connected her with Prussia. Not contented with having dictated at Tilsit a peace, *equally hard and humiliating* ; she has not even permitted her to enjoy the trifling advantages which that treaty seemed to allow her. She has made use of odious pretexts to shake to their foundations the fortune of the state, and those of individuals. Since that epoch, Prussia has been treated as

Paris, by Count Krusemarck, the Prussian Minister there ; to which an angry reply* was given

a conquered country, and oppressed by a yoke of iron. *The French armies remained in it contrary to the terms of the treaty, and lived at discretion in it during eighteen months : exorbitant and arbitrary contributions were imposed upon her ; her commerce was ruined by obliging her to adopt the continental system ; French garrisons were placed in the three fortresses of the Oder ; the country was obliged to defray the expence of their appointments ; in short, by the treaty of Bayonne, the property of widows and orphans was disposed of, in manifest contradiction to the stipulations of the treaty of peace ; every thing announced that no sort of regard would be kept with an unfortunate and oppressed state. In this state of things, peace became an illusory benefit. The King groaned under the enormous weight which oppressed his subjects. He flattered himself with vanquishing by the force of condescension and sacrifices, an animosity the effects of which he knew, but of whose principle he was ignorant. He gave himself up to the hope of sparing his people greater misfortunes, in fulfilling scrupulously his engagements towards France, and in carefully avoiding every thing which could give her offence. By extraordinary and unheard-of efforts, Prussia succeeded in paying two-thirds of the contribution : she was preparing to pay the remainder, when clouds arose between Russia and France, and when the immense preparations of those two powers did not any longer permit her to doubt of the war about to be kindled in the North. The King, faithful to his principle of saving, at any price, the national existence, judging of the future by the past, felt that he had every thing to fear from France. He sacrificed his affections, and concluded with her a treaty of alliance. At the epoch of the conclusion of the treaty, before the news could have reached Berlin, the*

* Page 241.

on the 1st of April, by the Duke of Bassano. The Prussian statement set forth the strongest

French troops entered Pomerania and the Marche Electroale. The King with grief saw that no attention was paid to his frank and loyal intentions. They would obtain by force what it appeared impossible to obtain by negotiations. Agents of Prussia, frightened by the menacing attitude of France, had signed at Paris separate conventions, which contained conditions extremely burthensome, relative to the provisioning and wants of the grand army. The French government, instructed respecting the mediocrity of our resources, foresaw a refusal,—prepared to gain the King's consent by the appearance of force, and deceived itself. His Majesty ratified these conventions, although he felt the difficulty of fulfilling them; he reckoned upon the devotion of Prussians, and he hoped that by defining the extent of our sacrifices, he would preserve his people from arbitrary requisitions, and their fatal consequences. Experience did not justify this hope. Whilst Prussia exhausted all her means to pour into the magazines the stipulated products, *the French armies lived at the expence of individuals*. At the same time were exacted the fulfilment of the treaty, and the daily consumption of the troops. The sacred property of the inhabitants were taken away by main force, without rendering the least account of it; and Prussia lost by these acts of violence above 70,000 horses, and 20,000 carriages.

Notwithstanding all these shackles, the King, faithful to his system, fulfilled with religious faith all the engagements he had made. The supplies were successfully realised, the stipulated contingent advanced; nothing was omitted to prove the loyalty of our conduct. France only replied to this devotion by pretensions always new, and believed herself able to dispense,

justification for taking up arms at the present time, and contained arguments, no less powerful

on her side, with fulfilling the stipulations of the treaty which fell to her charge. She constantly refused to examine the accounts for supplies furnished, although she had entered into a formal engagement to settle them every three months.

The Military Convention insured to the Emperor, till a new arrangement with Prussia, possession of the fortresses of Glogau, Stettin, and Gustrin ; but the provisioning of the first of those places was, from the date of signing that convention, to have been at the expense of France; and the others, from the day on which the King should have fulfilled his new engagements respecting the discharge of the contribution. The King, by acquiescing in this article, had already given France proofs of his condescension, in renouncing the stipulations of 1808; according to which Glogau was to be given up to Prussia, as soon as half of the contributions should be paid. The new treaty was not better observed by France than that which preceded it. The provisioning of Glogau, and that of the other fortresses, caused by the convention, and the discharge of the contributions already realized in the month of May last year, notwithstanding the most pressing representations, remain at the expense of Prussia to this day. The convention stipulated nothing respecting the fortresses of Pillau and Spandau ; they, in consequence, were to remain occupied by Prussian troops; the French troops, however, entered them, by a kind of surprize, and maintained themselves in them.

Whilst the weight of Prussia's expenses was indefinitely augmented—whilst *she proved, that*, after having paid her contribution, her advances amounted to enormous sums—all

and conclusive against that narrow, defensive system, which has successively led to the de-

kinds of assistance were persisted in being refused her: all her demands were answered by a contemptuous silence, and incessantly demanding fresh sacrifices: the inconceivable efforts of a burthened nation appeared to be considered as nothing. At the end of the preceding year, the advances by Prussia amounted to 94,000,000 of francs. The accounts were in as good order as they could be, considering the constant refusal of the French authorities to settle them agreeably to the treaty. His Majesty never ceased to represent through his agents, that it became urgent to do justice to his demands—that his exhausted states could no longer suffice to support the French armies. The King, for the moment, confined himself to demanding an account respecting these advances, candidly declaring, that he could not answer for events in case of a refusal. This language, equally just as clear; these demands, founded on the most sacred titles, remained without reply, and only produced vague assurances and distant promises. Besides, as if it was not sufficient to violate the most positive treaties, new proceedings took place to enlighten Prussia respecting the Emperor's intentions, and what she had a right to expect from him. The King seeing one part of his provinces invaded, and the other menaced, without being able to rely upon the assistance of the French armies, was obliged to reinforce his own; and the ordinary way being tedious and insufficient, his Majesty addressed an appeal to the young Prussians who wished to arrange themselves under his colours. This awakened in every heart the desire of serving the country. A great number of volunteers were preparing to leave Berlin for Breslau, when it pleased the Viceroy to interdict all recruiting, and the departure of the volunteers, in the provinces occupied by the French troops. This prohibi-

gradation of every Sovereign by whom it has been adopted. It exhibited the almost imprac-

tion was issued in the most peremptory manner, and without acquainting the King with it. An attempt so directly aimed at the rights of sovereignty, excited in the heart of his Majesty, and those of his faithful subjects, a just indignation. At the same time, and whilst the fortresses on the Oder ought for a long time to have been provisioned at the expence of France, after the Emperor had formally declared in an audience given to Prince Hatzfeld, that he had interdicted the French authorities from making any kind of requisitions in the states of the king, the governors of these fortresses received orders to take by main force, for a circle of ten leagues, every thing which was requisite for their defence and provisioning. This arbitrary and unjust order, with which they did not even take the trouble of acquainting the King, was executed in all its extent, in defiance of the sacred title of property, and with details of violence which it would be difficult to depict. Notwithstanding all the reasons which the King had for breaking with France, he yet wished to try the effect of negotiations. He informed the Emperor Napoleon, that he would send a confidential person to the Emperor of Russia, in order to engage him to acknowledge the neutrality of the part of Silesia which France had acknowledged. It was the only means which remained to the King, abandoned, at least for the moment, by France, for having a sure asylum, and not being placed in the cruel situation of leaving his states. The Emperor haughtily pronounced against this step, and did not even deign to explain himself upon the propositions which accompanied that overture. In such a state of things, the King's decision could not long remain doubtful. He had for years sacrificed every thing for the preservation of his political existence: now France compromised that existence, and did nothing to pro-

ticability of any engagements with Buonaparte, and the absolute necessity under which the

tect it. Russia can aggravate his misfortunes, and generously offers to protect him. The King cannot hesitate;—faithful to his principles and his duties, he joins his arms to those of the Emperor Alexander, changing his system without changing his objects. He hopes, in breaking with France and attaching himself to Russia, to obtain, by an honourable peace, or force of arms, the only object of his wishes—the independence of his people—the benefits which will result from it,—and *the inheritance of his fathers*, the half of which has been ravished from him. The King will adhere, with all his power, to every proposition conformable to the common interests of the Sovereigns of Europe. He is earnestly desirous that they may lead to a state of things, in which treaties may no longer be *simple truces*—where power becomes the guarantee of justice,—and where each, returning within his natural rights, may no longer be tormented in all the points of his existence, by the abuse of power.

This is, M. Le Duc, what I am charged to state for your Excellency's information. Be pleased to give an account of it to his Majesty the Emperor. Europe has seen with astonishment the long resignation of a nation distinguished in the annals of history by its brilliant courage, and its noble perseverance.

Now directed by the most sacred motives, there is no person among us, who is not determined to sacrifice every consideration to the great interests of the throne, the country, and the independence of Europe; no one who will not think himself happy in perishing for this noble end, and in defending his home.

other powers of Europe are placed, of destroying his system, or being destroyed by it. Prussia,

I have orders to immediately proceed to the King, my august Master, with Prince Hatzfeldt, his Privy Counsellor of State Begnolin, and the persons attached to these different missions. I have the honour to beg your Excellency to forward me the necessary passports for this purpose.

I hasten to renew to you, at the same time, the assurance of my most high consideration,

(Signed)

KRUSEMARCK.

Reply to the note of M. the Baron de Krusemarck.

Paris, April 1, 1813.

M. BARON,

I have laid before his Imperial and Royal Majesty, the note which you did me the honour of addressing to me on the 27th of March.

What is most deserving of serious consideration may be reduced to what follows :—

That Prussia solicited and concluded an alliance with France in 1812, because the French armies had approached nearer to the Prussian States, than the Russian armies.

Prussia declares in 1813, that she violates her treaties, because the Russian armies have approached nearer to her

by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, was left in a situation extremely helpless. It might have

States, than the French armies. Posterity will judge, whether such conduct is faithful, and worthy of a great Prince, conformable to equity and sound policy.

It will always do justice to the perseverance of your Cabinet in its principles.

In 1792, when France was inwardly agitated by a Revolution, and from without attacked by a formidable enemy, appeared like to sink, Prussia made war on her.

Three years afterwards, and at the moment when France was triumphant over the coalesced powers, Prussia abandoned her allies, she left the side of the combination together with its fortune, and the King of Prussia was the first of the Sovereigns who had taken up arms against France, that acknowledged the Republic.

Four years had scarcely elapsed, (in 1799, when France felt the vicissitudes of war: some battles had been lost in Switzerland and Italy; the Duke of York had landed in Holland, and the Republic was threatened both from the North and the South: Fortune had changed, and Prussia changed with her.

But the English were driven from Holland; the Russians were beaten at Zurich; victory again came under our colours in Italy; and Prussia became again the friend of France.

In 1805, Austria took up arms: she carried her armies to the Danube; she took possession of Bavaria; whilst the Rus-

been easily foreseen, that by the occupation of the fortresses therein agreed upon, Buonaparte

sian troops passed the Niemen, and advanced towards the Vistula. The union of three great powers, and their immense preparations, appeared to presage nought but defeat to France. Prussia could not hesitate an instant; she armed herself; she signed the treaty of Berlin; and the manes of Frederick the Second were called upon to witness the eternal hatred which she vowed against France. When her Minister, sent to his Majesty to dictate the law to him, had arrived in Moravia, the Russians had just lost the battle of Austerlitz, and it was owing to the generosity of the French that they were allowed to return into their own country. Prussia immediately tore the treaty of Berlin, concluded only six weeks before, abjured the celebrated oath of Potsdam; betrayed Russia, as she had betrayed France; and entered into fresh engagements with us. But from these eternal fluctuations in politics, proceeded a real anarchy in the public opinion in Prussia; an exaltation took place in men's minds which the Prussian Government were not able to direct: they supported it, and, in 1806, declared war against France, at the moment when it was their best interest to keep up a good understanding with her. Prussia being entirely conquered, saw herself, above her own hopes, admitted to sign, at Tilsit, a peace by which she received every thing, and gave nothing.

In 1809, the war with Austria broke out: Prussia was again going to change her system; but the first military events leaving no doubts of the definitive result of the campaign, Prussia was governed by prudence, and did not dare to declare herself.

In 1811, the preparations made by Russia threatening

would become, in effect, master of that country, and might consequently use it as an advanced

Europe with a new war, the geographical situation of Prussia did not permit her to remain an indifferent spectatress of the events which were about taking place; and you, M. le Baron, were charged so early as the month of March in the same year, to solicit the alliance of France; and it is useless for me to recal to your remembrance what passed at that period. It is useless for me to repeat either your reiterated instances or your warm sollicitudes.

His Majesty, remembering what was past, at first hesitated what part he should take. But he thought that the King of Prussia, enlightened by experience, was at length become sensible of the versatile policy of your Cabinet. He felt himself obliged for the steps which it had taken at St. Petersburg to prevent the rupture. It was besides, contrary to his justice and his heart to declare war, merely for the considerations of political convenience. He yielded to his personal sentiments towards your Sovereign, and consented to make an alliance with him.

So long as the chances of war were favourable to us your Court shewed itself faithful; but scarcely had the premature rigours of the winter attacked our armies on the Niemen, when the defection of General D'York reawakened suspicions but too well founded. The equivocal conduct of your Court in so weighty a circumstance; the departure of the King for Breslaw; the treachery of General Bulow, who opened to the enemy the passages of the Nether-Oder; the public Ordinances, to excite a turbulent and factious youth to take up arms; the junction at Breslaw of men designated as Chiefs of the disturbers, and as principal instigators of the war of 1806;

post, in his future hostilities against Russia. At the same time he was not only enabled to

the daily communications established between your Court and the head-quarters of the enemy, had for a long time left no doubt of the resolutions of your Court; when, M. Baron, I received your note of the 27th of March, and it has therefore caused no surprise. Prussia wishes, it is said, to recover the inheritance of her ancestors: but we may ask her, if, when she speaks of losses which her false policy has caused her to suffer, she has not likewise made some acquisitions to put into the scale;—if, among those acquisitions, there be none which she owes to her faithless policy? It is, that she owes Silesia to the abandonment of a French army on the walls of Prague; and all her acquisitions in Germany, to the violation of the laws and interests of the Germanic Body.

Prussia talks of her desire of obtaining a peace founded on a solid basis; but how is it possible to reckon on a solid peace with a power which believes herself justified when she breaks her engagements according to the caprices of fortune?

His Majesty prefers a declared enemy to a friend always ready to abandon him.

I will not carry these observations any farther; I shall content myself with asking, what would an enlightened Statesman, and a friend to his country, have done, who, in thought, placing himself at the helm of affairs of Prussia, from the day when the revolution in France broke out, would have conducted himself according to the principles of a sound and moral policy.

Would he have engaged Prussia in 1792, in a war, in

exhaust it by grievous exactions, under the name of contributions, but to ruin its finances

which she must leave the chances in favour of states more powerful than herself? Had he done so, he would have advised to take up arms before the Revolution was finished.

If, nevertheless, he had been led to acknowledge the Republic, would he not have persisted in his system,—would he not have endeavoured to derive advantage from it, and to profit by those sentiments with which France would have been inspired for a Prince, who, for her sake, braved the prejudices of the times? He would have established the influence of Prussia in the North, by alliances; the Monarchy of Frederick would have been more firmly established, and Prussia would have founded her interior happiness and her consideration on a strict union with France. He would not have suffered himself to be puffed up, in 1799, by the transient success of our enemies. He would, in 1805, have repulsed with policy and dignity, the alliance by which England, Russia, and Austria had unitedly entered into reciprocal engagements to constrain Prussia. Nevertheless, if drawn away by unforeseen circumstances, he had taken an oath on the tomb of Frederick, he should not have violated it after the battle of Austerlitz; he should have taken the only honourable way in a false determination, by remaining true to those Allies who were maltreated by Fortune.

If in 1812 he had thought he might forget what Russia had done in favour of Prussia at Tilsit, whatever circumstances permitted; and if he had signed the alliance with France, he ought to have remained faithful to it. He would have found in unexpected events, an opportunity of causing Prussia, notwithstanding her weakness, to act a fine part,

by that deceitful and ingenious mode of impoverishing his neighbours, which he termed the

and to manifest decided sentiments, and of which he might, in future time, invoke the honourable remembrance. This faithful resolution would have secured to Prussia the esteem even of her enemies. She would have served not their hate, but their true interests; for General D'York would not have betrayed, and the Russians would not have passed the Niemén; General Bulow would not have betrayed, and the Russians would not have passed the Oder; and would not have exposed themselves to the catastrophe which threatens them: in short, France, feeling the want of a mediator between her and Russia, would have found it in faithful Prussia, and would have consented to aggrandize for the interest of her system, and for the peace and repose of the world, which is her sole view, a Power, whose sincerity had been put to the proof.

At present, M. Baron, what remains for Prussia? She has done nothing for Europe; she has done nothing for her ancient Ally; she will do nothing for peace. A Power, whose Treaties are only conditional, cannot be an useful Mediator; she guarantees nothing; she is nothing but a subject of discussion; she is not even a barrier. The finger of Providence has shewn itself in the events of this winter; it has produced them to unmask false friends, and mark the faithful ones; it has given his Majesty power sufficient to insure the triumph of the one, and the chastisement of the others.

In terminating my transactions with you, M. Baron, I congratulate myself in having to express to you his Majesty's satisfaction with your conduct, during the time that you have resided near to him.

Continental System. In this wretched situation was Prussia placed when Buonaparte's plans against Russia began to be developed. Unable to stand alone, her circumstances did not allow of neutrality, and she was unwillingly dragged along as a vassal in the train of the Ruler of the French nation. But even if she had not suffered severe oppressions in time of peace, she was at once plundered, trampled on, and insulted, during the war. Buonaparte acted over the kingdom of Prussia the Sovereign, or rather the conqueror, without restraint or ceremony. He seized on Pillau and Spandau, by a sort of military surprise: he kept possession of Glogau and Custrin, in express opposition to his treaties: he subsisted his garrisons in those places, by levying contributions for ten leagues around each: he seized no less than 70,000 horses, and 20,000 carriages, besides every other article that

He pities you, both as a military man, and as a man of honour, that you should have found yourself obliged to sign such a declaration.

I have the honour to transmit you the passports which you have requested of me.

I beg you, M. Baron, to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) THE DUKE DE BASSANO.

his Commissaries happened to want; and he even sent orders to General Bulow to join Victor's corps, without consulting the King of Prussia on the subject. These and many more equally serious and well-founded complaints were distinctly set forth by Count Krusemarck in his note; and the Duke of Bassano, in reply, began by a sarcastic allusion to the versatile politics of the Prussian cabinet since 1792; as if Buonaparte, since that time, had not gone through more changes, exhibited more flagrant instances of lying and perjury, and other iniquitous conduct, more frequently than any individual recorded in history. He stated, that it was contrary to Buonaparte's justice and his heart to declare war merely for political convenience! He would have made Prussia a mediator between France and Russia, "and would have consented to aggrandize, for the interest of his system, and for the peace and repose of the world, which is his sole view, a power, whose sincerity had been put to the proof."—Buonaparte would have aggrandized Prussia!—"made her act a fine part," and "manifest decided sentiments"—he did not suspect the duplicity of one who had solicited the honour of an alliance with him.

Whilst these diplomatic arrangements between Russia and Prussia were proceeding, the

harassed and now confused commanders of the French armies in vain attempted to make a stand at Berlin. The inhabitants manifested a spirit no less formidable to them than that of the enemy; and even the French confessed, that the first of the Russian light troops that approached Berlin were conducted and reinforced by the young men of that capital, several of whom were killed in the skirmishes which took place in the suburbs.

On the 23d of February the King of Saxony issued from Dresden the subjoined proclamation, announcing his determination to withdraw from that capital.

We, Frederick Augustus, by the Grace of God, King of Saxony, &c.

We find ourselves, by existing circumstances, under the necessity of quitting our metropolis, and retiring to another part of our kingdom, where we think of remaining so long as circumstances may require, and admit of our so doing. The political system to which we have, for the last six years, attached ourselves, is what the State is solely indebted to for its preservation in the most threatening dangers in the course of that period. True to our treaties of alliance we still look forward with confidence to the happy result, which, even if our wishes for the restoration of peace should remain unfulfilled for

the present, we may promise ourselves, from the powerful assistance of our great ally, the active support of the confederated powers, and the proved valour of our troops, who have covered themselves with glory in fighting for their country's cause.

Our beloved subjects will in the surest manner promote the attainment of the end which we have so much at heart; to avoid and lighten the evils of war, as much as possible, by their loyalty, constancy, and quiet conduct; and likewise thereby hasten the period of our reunion with them.

During the whole course of our forty-five years' government, and under all the changes of circumstances, we have made the welfare of the country, and the happiness of our subjects, the sole object of our endeavours; and have found the highest reward for all our cares, in the ever equal confidence and immoveable attachment of our people. We make ourselves assured, of receiving still continued proofs of these sentiments, which are most conspicuously shewn in times of trouble; and we thus hope, with the assistance of God, soon to return to our beloved subjects, and again to employ ourselves for their durable welfare to the best of our ability.

All the officers of the kingdom are to remain in their usual occupations during our absence. The care of the country's welfare, in all occurrences and situations which may be produced by the state of war, we have devolved on an immediate council established here; to which all Magistrates and subjects of our kingdom have to apply

under the circumstances before-mentioned, and to follow its directions in all cases.

We again exhort our faithful subjects to support the ancient renown of the Saxon nation, by a peaceable and orderly conduct, consistent with the unalterable sentiments and intentions which have always influenced us for the true prosperity of our native country.

Done and given under our proper signature, and with the impression of our royal seal, at Dresden, the 23d of February, 1813.

(Signed) **FREDERICK AUGUSTUS.**

General Blucher, on the 23d of March, addressed, from Buntzlau, a proclamation to the inhabitants of Saxony, stating that he entered their territory to offer them a fraternal hand, and calling on them to raise the standard of insurrection against their oppressors*.

* " Saxons !—We Prussians enter your territory to offer you our fraternal hand. In the North of Europe the Lord of hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off 300,000 of those strangers by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth in which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones, and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back foreign oppression, and in the high

In addition to this proclamation Count Wittenstein addressed the following from Beltzig,

feeling of its victors have promised liberty to the subjugated nations. We bring to you the morning purple of a new day. The time for shaking off a detestable yoke, which, during the last six years dreadfully crushed us down, has at length arrived. A new war, unluckily commenced, and still more unhappily concluded, forced upon us the peace of Tilsit; but even of the severest titles of that treaty, not one has been kept with us. Every following treaty increased the hard conditions of the preceding one. For this reason we have thrown off the shameful yoke, and advance to the heart-cheering combat for our liberty.

“ Saxons! ye are a noble, enlightened people! You know, that without independence, all the good things of this life are, to noble minds, of little value—that subjection is the greatest disgrace. You neither can nor will bear slavery any longer—you will no longer permit a cunning and deceitful system of policy to carry its ambitious and depraved views into effect, to demand the blood of your sons, dry up the spring of your commerce, depress your industry, destroy the liberty of your press, and turn your once happy country into the theatre of war. Already has the Vandalism of your oppressive foreigners wantonly and unmercifully destroyed your most beautiful monument of architecture, the bridge of Dresden. Rise! join us—raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free.

“ Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, deploring the steps a treacherous policy forced him to take; we will no more attribute them to him, than cause you to suffer for them. We only take the

on the 31st of March, to the people of Saxony.

“ Saxons !—I enter your country either to make war upon, or to fight in conjunction with you for your freedom and the restoration of your degraded honour. Choose !—your choice may place your crown in danger, and cause your children to blush for the conduct of their fathers !

“ Look and see what passes around you ! See the noble Prussians your neighbours. The whole nation has risen in mass ; in their ranks the son of the ploughman is found by the side of the prince ; all difference of ranks is

provinces of your country under our care for your Lord, which fortune, the superiority of our arms, and the valour of our troops, may place in our power. Supply the reasonable wants of our warriors, and in return, expect from us the strictest discipline. Every application to me, the Prussian General, shall be open to all oppressed persons—I will hear complaint, examine every charge, and severely punish every violation of discipline. Every one, even the very meanest, may with confidence approach me. I will receive him with kindness.

“ The friend of German independence will, by us, be considered as our brother ; the weak-minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road :—but the dishonourable, despicable tool of foreign tyranny, I will pursue with the utmost rigour as an enemy to our common country.

(Signed) “ BLUCHER.”

mingled together, and disappears in the great ideas of liberty, honour, king, and country. There is no other difference of talents and of zeal in the great and sacred cause. Liberty or death! is the word which Frederick William has given; and solemnly has his whole magnanimous people sworn to conquer, or fall worthily of such a Prince.

“ Saxons—Germans—Our pedigrees, our family-registers close with the year 1812. The deeds of our ancestors are cancelled by the humiliation of their descendants. The restoration of Germany can alone renovate the nobility of the race, and restore it to its original splendour.

“ COUNT WITGENSTEIN.

“ Head-quarters, March 31.”

Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, on the 25th of March, issued the annexed appeal to the Germans, in the name of their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, which almost gave a new character to the war. In it he assures the world, that the sword has been unsheathed by the allies, to recover the independence of Europe, and they will give a death-blow to the oppressors, by announcing, that the Confederation of the Rhine must be dissolved,

“ While Russia’s victorious warriors, united with those of Prussia, their allies, appear in Germany, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his Majesty the King of Prussia announce to the princes and people of Germany, the return of freedom and independence. They come only with the intention of helping them to reconquer those lost but inalienable blessings of nations, and of affording powerful protection and lasting security to the regeneration of a venerable empire. It is this grand object alone, raised far above every selfish view, which dictates and directs the advance of their armies.

“ These armies, under the eyes of both monarchs, and led on by their General, confide in the righteous disposer of events, and hope to be able to accomplish for the whole world, and irrevocably for Germany, what they have already so gloriously began for themselves—the destruction of the most ignominious yoke. Full of this spirit, they march forward. Their watch-word is honour and independence. Let every German, who would still be thought worthy of that name, unite with them heartily and strongly: let all, be they princes or nobles, or in the lower ranks of life, join heart and hand, with their lives and property in the Russian and Prussian plans of deliverance. Such a disposition and such zeal their Majesties trust they are entitled to expect from every German, when they view the spirit which the victories of Russia have roused in an awakened world.

“ They invite, therefore, the faithful co-operation of every German Prince, and they would gladly anticipate

that none of them, by proving rebellious to the German common weal, will expose themselves to deserved destruction by the force of open hostilities.

“The Confederation of the Rhine, that deceitful fetter which the general disturber threw around dismembered Germany, even to the annihilation of her ancient name, can no longer be tolerated, as being the work of foreign constraint and the instrument of foreign influence. Their Majesties are confident that they only comply with the universal wishes of the people, when they declare, that the dissolution of this confederation must be considered as one of their most settled determinations.

“Herewith at the same time is the relation declared, in which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias is desirous of standing with regard to renovated Germany, and to its internal constitution.

“As he wishes to see the annihilation of foreign influence, that relation can be nothing else than extending a protecting hand over a work, the full completion of which can only be accomplished by the princes and people of Germany. The more firmly the foundations and the superstructure of this work arise out of the national spirit of the German people, the more powerfully, and the more unitedly, will Germany shine forth among the nations of Europe.

“In fine his Majesty and his allies, between whom the most complete understanding prevails with regard to the herein declared resolutions and views, are determined

preservingly to devote their strongest efforts to the glorious object of delivering Germany from a foreign yoke.

“Let France, who is beauteous and strong in herself, occupy herself, in future, in promoting their internal welfare! No foreign power intends disturbing it—no hostile attempt shall be made upon her rightful frontiers. But be it known to France, that the other powers are solicitous of conquering lasting tranquillity for their subjects; and that they will not lay down their arms, until the foundation of the independence of every European State has been established and secured.”

An Address was issued at Königsberg, on the 12th of March, from the Saxon, Bavarian, and Rhenish officers, who, in joining “the Army of the North of Germany,” sunk all petty local distinctions in the bond of a common patriotism. “We are Germans,” said they: this single word included every thing. The moment seemed to be arrived when Germany could raise her depressed head, when she might hope to throw off the slavish yoke of France;—even in those parts where the enemy still kept his footing, a general spirit was rising, which promised to reconquer the lost honour and freedom of Germany:—and with manly confidence they concluded—“Posterity will not ask, in what service we were engaged, but for what

cause we fought ; whether for Germany and human nature, or for tyranny and France." It was upon this deep, in-wrought feeling of what is due to common origin and common wrongs—upon this sacred love of country, and indignation against Buonaparte, that the best hopes of the Continent were built. Cold calculations of interest—mild treating with the rapacious plunderers of all for the restitution of a part, could never arrest the giant stride of universal despotism. Nations must rise as one man ; and they appeared to be so rising. Prussia became one great camp ; the cabinet intriguers vanished ; the Generals, known by their resolute opposition to French influence, were invested with new and really effectual powers ; the whole country between the Elbe and the Oder was divided into four military districts, under the command of L'Estocq, Tauenzien, Massenbach, and Gotzen ; the militia was called out ; the levy *en masse* was preparing ; volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides ; no less than 20,000 of the militia were collected at Koningsberg, besides a reserve of 10,000, and the national enthusiasm was universally directed to one great object.

The King of Prussia, on the 20th of March, 1813, published an edict concerning the abolition

of the so-called Continental system, and the duties henceforward to be collected on goods hereafter to be imported by sea. By this edict the ships and goods of all friendly and neutral nations were freely permitted to enter into his harbours and territories, without any exception or difference. All French goods, either produce or manufactures, were totally prohibited, not only for use, but likewise to pass through his territories, or those occupied by his armies.

The so-denominated Continental impost was taken off, and exclusive of the consumption excise to be especially paid on foreign goods entered inwards by sea for home consumption, there was directed to be levied the heretofore established import and transit duty, as it was previous to the establishment of the Continental impost in the year 1810, which duty was to be collected on the gross weight, but only to continue so long as the increased expenses arising from the war carrying on for the liberation of Germany should render it necessary.

The French troops quitted Berlin in the night of the 3d of March, and Tchernicheff arrived in that city at five o'clock of the following morning. At noon, between twelve and one o'clock, both infantry and artillery entered. The entry was

performed in peace and good order, amid a great concourse of people, and the Russian troops were received with kindness and hospitality. The three detachments which were in the advance under the orders of Major-Generals Tchernicheff and Berkendorf, and Colonel Tetenborne, as well as part of the cavalry of the advanced-guard, and some Cossacks, precipitately pursued the enemy, and several petty engagements took place in the neighbouring villages, especially at Steglitz, from whence the Russians sent several prisoners into Berlin.

On the 11th of March, Count Witgenstein made his public entry into that city, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm.

After the Grand French Army, (including the division of General Grenier, amounting to 20,000 men, which in the beginning of January had hastened from Italy to its support,) had been reduced by several severe engagements with the Cossacks to about 18,000 men, and quitted Berlin to lay the basis of future operations in a more solid manner behind the Elbe, General Morand, who kept possession of Swedish

Pomerania with about 2500 men, and who, according to instructions, was to have maintained himself there at all events, put himself in march to follow the Grand Army, whose left wing he formed under the name of the Army of Pomerania. On his march he was joined by the Custom-House officers established there; the cavalry was about fifty men strong: the artillery consisted of eighteen pieces.

Baron Von Tettenborne, Colonel-Commandant of a corps of General Witgenstein's division of the army, marched with his corps in the direction of Hamburg; his van-guard was at Luneberg when Morand, on the 15th of March, entered into Mollen. Some parties of Cossacks that had been detached in front, and who appeared opposite Mollen, caused the Army of Pomerania to halt, and induced General Morand to remain there for the day, and in the night to march to Bergedorf, where he was met by the 11th Military Division, and the Custom-House officers stationed in Hamburg. Général Morand made a feint of marching from Bergedorf to Hamburg, but was prevented by the Danish troops; 3000 of whom, with a numerous artillery, were stationed on the borders to maintain their neutrality.

It now appeared to be General Morand's intention to take a position in Bergedorf and the Vierlanden, and for this purpose he garrisoned Eschenburg, a place situated a German mile towards Lauenburg, with 500 men and 8 pieces of artillery. From Eschenburg to Bergedorf it is one continued defile, where cavalry is totally useless, and from this defile to the Elbe it is a morassy country, cut through with innumerable canals; and possibly General Morand had calculated on being able to keep this post; but the regiments of Cossacks pushed forward by Lieutenant-Colonel Berkendorff, Commander of the van-guard, fell in with the enemy, when some volunteers immediately dismounted, and by continued skirmishing, kept the enemy employed till late in the night. Meanwhile a detachment of Cossacks were sent by a bye-road to Bergedorf, who had driven the enemy's piquets into the town, and put every thing in alarm. After three such attacks, General Morand deemed the whole position untenable, and, at break-of day, he marched to the Custom House store, from whence all the baggage had, in the course of the night, been sent across the Elbe. Colonel Von Tettenborne immediately caused the enemy to be pursued from Bergedorf, as far as Eschenburg: at a mile's distance from the Custom House store, the enemy made a stand on a cross-dam,

and placed a battery of 6 guns against the only dam by which he could be approached. The Cossacks kept up a fire of musketry, but could make no impression on the enemy, by reason of his advantageous situation. Colonel Von Tettenborne, notwithstanding the apparent disadvantage of the position, then caused a piece of artillery to be brought up. This gun, notwithstanding the very brisk fire kept up by the enemy with such a superior force of artillery, produced a decisive mortal effect on the French, who retreated with the utmost expedition. The Cossacks pursued them with rapidity, and did not allow them time to carry off the artillery, which was already put on board some craft. The enemy's convoy escaped in small boats, leaving 6 pieces of cannon behind them, which the Cossacks immediately made themselves masters of.

In the meantime Colonel Hamilton, Governor of Heligoland, in consequence of the effect which the glorious success of the Russian arms produced, and the favourable reports from different parts of the Hanoverian coast, determined immediately to take every step, which an inconsiderable force at his disposal would admit of, to promote the great and just cause.

Lieutenant Banks proceeded with 2 gun-brigs.

reinforced by 2 serjeants and 30 veterans, to Cuxhaven, from which the French had departed with great expedition, after destroying all their gun-boats and dismounting the guns from the strong works constructed for the defence of the harbour. On a summons from Lieutenant Banks, the castle of Ritzenbottle, and batteries of Cuxhaven were surrendered, to be at the disposal of his Majesty, by the burghers, and the British and Hamburg flags were immediately displayed.

Major Kentzinger, an officer perfectly qualified for such a mission, was sent to Cuxhaven, having received instructions to communicate as soon as possible with the Russian General and the senate of Hamburg; and this officer was immediately followed by a detachment from the 8th Royal Veteran Battalion, and a supply of all the arms, &c. which were not actually employed by the garrison of Heligoland.

The Hanoverians, who had been so long oppressed, displayed every where the British colours and G. R. upon their habitations. In the Weser, the inhabitants of that part of the country assembled in considerable numbers, and took the strong and important battery and works at Bremerlee; and a corps of about 1500 French

having assembled in its vicinity, which threatened to retake the battery, application was made immediately to Major Kentzinger for assistance, who having left Cuxhaven with a party of the soldiers in waggons, was met by those brave and grateful men, who gave him the pleasing intelligence that the enemy had marched off in great haste, in consequence of the landing of the British troops, which were reported to amount to a considerable number.

Baron de Tettenborne entered Hamburg on the 18th of March, amidst the acclamations and every demonstration of joy on the part of the citizens. In consequence of this happy event the ancient government was restored. Colonel Tettenborne published addresses to the inhabitants of the left banks of the Lower Elbe and to the inhabitants of the city of Lubec, exhorting them to take up arms in this sacred war,—telling them they knew the fate of the French grand army, which had been entirely destroyed on the plains of Russia,—and assuring them that powerful armies were hastening to their support. The most honourable employment, observed General Tettenborne, now was to draw the sword, and drive far away from the German territory, those foreigners, who had already been pursued above 1200 miles by the victorious Russian ar-

mies. "Shame and disgrace fall on every one, who in these eventful times, when the struggle is for the greatest blessings of the human race, can sit with his arms folded." There was also a notification published, signed by Baron Tettenborne, for the raising of a volunteer corps in Hamburg, Lubec, and Bremen, to bear the name of "The Hanseatic Legion," and form a part of the army of the North of Germany.

Of a detachment of veterans sent by Colonel Hamilton to Cuxhaven, a party consisting of 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, and 25 men, marched to Bremerlee to occupy the battery at that place, and to afford some support to the insurgent peasantry. The enemy collected a force of 5 or 6000 men at Bremen, and on the 24th a detachment of about 700 marched rapidly upon Bremerlee, dispersed the peasants, and forced the bridge, which was bravely defended by a part of the 1st Veteran Battalion, under Lieutenant Baurmcister. This officer and 12 or 14 of his men were killed. The enemy then attacked the battery where the rest of the Veterans, and a body of peasants, were stationed. These people capitulated, in the hope of saving their lives. The French spared 6 or 7 of the British Veterans, but massacred every one of the peasants.

They then pillaged the town, and returned hastily to Bremen. The French sustained some loss in forcing the bridge, and 24 of the Veterans, and about as many of the peasants, were killed in this affair.

On the 2d of April, General Morand, who had retired to Bremen, again marched as far as Tollstadt, three miles from Harburg; whence, after remaining five days and receiving a reinforcement, he advanced upon Luneberg with about 3500 men, and 12 pieces of artillery, and, dislodging a piquet of Cossacks, took possession of that town. The cavalry of General Tettenborne's army having followed the enemy's movement, he communicated this information to General Dornberg, who, conjointly with the corps of General Tchernicheff, had passed the Elbe at Lentzen. These two Generals having advanced upon Luneberg by forced marches, arrived there at the moment when Tettenborne's Cossacks were engaged with the enemy. Their sudden appearance, as well as that of Colonel Berken-dorff, threw confusion into the ranks of the enemy, who, surrounded on every side, were overwhelmed at all points. The infantry stormed two gates of the town with the bayonet, and the fighting continued for some time in the streets

with the greatest desperation. Several pieces of cannon and many prisoners fell into the hands of the Russians.

Among the important writings circulated with the view of inducing all friends of liberty and the laws to throw off the yoke of despotism, and demand their just prerogatives, an address * of

* LOUIS XVIII. &c. &c.

The moment is at length arrived, when Divine Providence appears ready to break in pieces the instrument of its wrath. The Usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe, experiences reverses in his turn. Shall they have no other effect but, that of aggravating the calamities of France; and will she not dare to overturn an odious power, no longer protected by the illusions of victory? what prejudices, or what fears, can now prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of her King; and from recognising in the establishment of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace, and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects?

Being neither able, nor inclined to obtain, but by their efforts, that throne which his rights and their affection can alone confirm, what wishes should be adverse to those which he has invariably entertained? what doubt can be started with regard to his paternal intentions?

Louis XVIII. to the people of France, was at this period published and circulated on the Continent.

The King has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance, the Administrative and Judicial Bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their powers; that he will preserve their places to those who at present hold them, and who shall take the oath of fidelity to him; that the tribunals, depositaries of the laws, shall prohibit all prosecutions bearing relation to those unhappy times of which his return will have for ever sealed the oblivion; that, in fine, the code polluted by the name Napoleon, but which, for the most part, contains only the ancient ordinances and customs of the realm, shall remain in force, with the exception of enactments contrary to the doctrines of religion, which, as well as the liberty of the people, has long been subjected to the caprice of the tyrant.

The Senate, in which are seated some men so justly distinguished for their talents, and whom so many services may render illustrious in the eyes of France, and of posterity,—that corps, whose utility and importance can never be duly appreciated till after the restoration,—can it fail to perceive the glorious destiny which summons it, to become the first instrument of that great benefaction, which will prove the most solid, as well as the most honourable guarantee of its existence and its prerogatives?

On the subject of property, the King, who has already announced his intention to employ the most proper means for conciliating the interests of all, perceives in the numerous settlements, which have taken place between the old and

Some admirable proclamations were also addressed to the inhabitants of the North of Germany by Count Witgenstein *, in the

the new landholders, the means of rendering those cares almost superfluous. He engages, however, to interdict all proceedings by the tribunals, contrary to such settlements,—to encourage voluntary arrangements, and, on the part of himself and his family, to set the example of all those sacrifices which may contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of all Frenchmen.

The King has guaranteed to the army the maintenance of the ranks, employments, pay, and appointments, which it at present enjoys. He promises also to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who shall signalize themselves in support of his cause, rewards more substantial, distinctions more honourable, than any they can receive from an Usurper,—always ready to disown, or even to dread their services. The King binds himself anew to abolish that pernicious conscription which destroys the happiness of families, and the hope of the country:

Such always have been, such still are, the intentions of the King. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors will be for France only the happy transition from the calamities of a war which tyranny perpetuates, to the blessings of a solid peace, for which foreign powers can never find any security but in the word of the legitimate Sovereign.

Hartwell, Feb. 1813.

L.

* The following is an accurate account of the family of this officer.

name of Alexander the Liberator, the title justly given to the Emperor of Russia. In these, General Witgenstein spoke in a language which

The father of Count Witgenstein entered the Russian service, and was Lieutenant-General under the Empress Catherine II., being employed most honourably in the wars during that reign. He was descended from the family of Witgenstein, the eldest branch of which ranks amongst Princes of the German Empire, and bears that title. He was first married to a Countess Finkenstein, also of a princely house in Germany; and his second wife was a Russian Princess Dolgorouky, by whom he had no children. The present Count Witgenstein, his son by the first wife, was with his father in Little Russia till he had reached his 13th year, when he was brought to Petersburg, and educated in the house of Field-Marshal Count Soltykoff, with his own three sons, amongst whom the Count Alexander is considered as an eminent statesman. The Field-Marshal, who is still alive, was charged at that time with the education of the present Emperor and the Grand Duke Constantine. The father of Count Witgenstein had estates given him, for his services in Podolia, which are now in the possession of the son, who likewise acquired some property by his marriage with a lady of the name of Snarsky, in the Government of Vitepsk. Both these estates are of considerable value, though their revenue is not adequate to the present station of the Count, nor to the number of his family, consisting of six sons and one daughter. His late services have been rewarded by a liberal pension from the Crown. Ever since the beginning of his military career he has been remarked as one of the best officers in the Russian service, and now he is adored as a hero by his soldiers, and equally respected by his country.

could not fail to have a decisive effect upon the minds of all classes and descriptions of the natives of Germany. Every feeling of patriotism was roused into action by these animated appeals, which struck upon every chord of the human heart responsive to the call of freedom, and all the endearing remembrances connected with the name of country. The title of Conqueror, disclaimed by the Emperor of Russia, was superseded by the amiable designation of Liberator, and in his name the Germans were promised the restoration of their ancient laws and customs, and of their lawful Princes. Wherever an opportunity offered, the spirit of the people was displayed in a manner which forcibly indicated the universal detestation of the French, excited by their cruelty and oppression.—A striking instance of this occurred at Dresden. The corps of Gen. Regnier, 1500 infantry strong, and as many Saxons, entered that city in the beginning of March, besides 1000 cavalry, and made preparations to keep off the Russians as long as possible. It was rumoured that the French had undermined the fine bridge. This occasioned a great fermentation; and on the 9th, seeing these preparations continued, the people threw the implements into the Elbe.—This gave rise to a general insurrection, and in the night the populace besieged the mine that had been made. The

whole night passed in invectives against the French. On the 10th the numbers increased, and the discontent grew louder against the enemy. A French officer who was giving some directions was seized, and would have been thrown into the Elbe had not some persons interceded for him. In the afternoon sundry excesses happened, and all the preparations made to mine the bridge were destroyed. The mine was then filled up with stones, amidst the cries of "Long live Alexander*."

The King of Prussia now placed Lieut.-Gen. Von D'York and his corps d'armée under the direction of Count Witgenstein. The latter immediately issued the subjoined Order of the Day to the Royal Prussian corps under the command of the Lieutenant-General Von D'York.

"It has pleased his Royal Majesty the King of Prussia to join all his troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Von D'York to my corps.

"The command of so greatly-distinguished warriors is

* It is said that an officer drew his sword to quell the mob, when one of the people cried out—"Saxons, will you kill your own countrymen? kill the Frenchmen rather!" Instantly all the cavalry sheathed their swords.

in every respect flattering and honourable to me, and a security for the success of the good cause in which I bear my sword.

“ Our nations have been friends for more than 50 years; a dark interval of a few months, brought about by imperious circumstances, has only more animated the friendly sentiments of both our great Sovereigns towards each other, and drawn still closer the ties existing between their people. There is but one, one only, great interest which connects us. It is the strife of liberty, of virtue, against the enemy of the independence of all nations. What you, valiant Prussians, have done against us, through the real feeling of duty, though contrary to your better knowledge, is proved by the history of the last campaign, by our own testimony. You will be unconquerable, now that you can join this sense of duty to the high conviction that you fight for the independence of your native country, and your king, and for your own honour.

“ Noble Prussian Warriors, let us in fraternal love and unity, proceed onward to the attainment of the greatest end for which armies were ever united. Our's is the very singular happiness of serving two Princes who have drawn the sword for the happiness and independence of their nations, and for the salvation of Europe;—two nations but by name, no trifling interests of common life will part us in our sacred combat. Without jealousy—without any personal concern intervening—we will jointly conquer the laurels with which, after our work is com-

pleted, the gratitude of liberated nations will form our wreaths.

(Signed) "Count VON WITGENSTEIN.

"Head-Quarters, at Berlin, March 18, 1813.

The Silesian army also was put in motion, and the command of it given to General Blucher, whose van-guard immediately entered Saxony. In East Prussia, and in Pomerania, Generals Von Bulow and Borstell were actively employed in organizing the volunteers, who hastened in crowds to join their standard; and, in short, from one end of the Prussian monarchy to the other, the national spirit was roused, and the Sovereign felt himself irresistibly borne forward in the career of honour, by the united impulse of a whole people. The King of Prussia made every exertion to raise, in all parts of the Continent, the spirit of insurrection against the French: he perceived the advantages that had resulted from the fervent and animating addresses of the Emperor Alexander, and wherever an opportunity offered he profited of the like measure. In consequence of this political view, he issued on the 6th of April, from Breslaw, the following proclamation to the inhabitants of the former

Prussian German provinces, ceded by the treaty of Tilsit.

“ It was neither by my choice, nor your defaults, that you my formerly so beloved and faithful subjects, were torn from my paternal heart. The force of events brought on the peace of Tilsit, by which we were separated. But even that convention, like all others since made with France, was broken by our enemies. They themselves have by their infidelity released us from our connection with them; and God, by the victories of our powerful allies, has prepared the liberation of Germany.

“ Neither are you, from that moment when my faithful people flew to arms for me, for themselves, and for you, any longer tied by that compulsive oath which bound you to your new ruler. To you, I therefore speak in the same language as I did to my beloved people concerning the cause and object of the present war.

“ You have now again the same claim to my affection, and I to your obedience. Again joined to my people, you will share the same dangers, but you will likewise partake of the same reward and equal glory. I depend upon your attachment; our native country relies on your strength. Join your youths to my warriors, who have lately renewed the glory of the Prussian arms. Seize your swords, and form your insurrectional levy, according to the examples of your noble brethren, whom with just pride I call my subjects. Pay unconditional obedience

to the official persons that I shall send to you to inform you of my commands and direct your strength—men who have heretofore lived and acted with you in confidence, and to your benefit.

“Then, when you shall have fought with us for our mutual country, when by your mutual exertions you shall have assisted in establishing our independence, and proved that you are worthy of your ancestors, and of the Prussian name, then will futurity heal the wounds inflicted by times past, and we shall find the happiness that has been lost to us in the conviction of a mutually faithful attachment, and in the undisturbed enjoyment of liberty and peace.

“ Given at Breslaw, the 6th of April.

(Signed) “ FREDERICK WILLIAM.”

On the 15th of March the Emperor Alexander made his solemn entry into Breslaw, having been met, at sixteen miles distance, by the King and Royal Family of Prussia, and the assembled nobles from every part of the country. Unfeigned joy was expressed at his arrival by all ranks of people. Four days previously to this, a ceremony scarcely less interesting had taken place at Berlin, when Count Witgenstein, as already stated, attended by Prince Henry of Prus-

sia, entered that capital, so lately occupied by a French garrison. The joy of the inhabitants of Berlin was enhanced by the gratifying contrast.

Count Witgenstein expressed his patriotic feelings in several admirable Proclamations to the inhabitants of Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and the adjacent countries.—“ Brave and generous Germans,” observed the gallant Count, “ will you suffer me alone to fulfil the honourable commission entrusted to me by my mighty Emperor ; or has your slavery not yet so far debased you, but that you are still capable of feeling the emotions of revenge against your shameless oppressors, and will, in junction with me, reach the beautiful and appointed end in view ?” —In like manner Baron Tettenborne addressed himself to the citizens of the Hanseatic States.

It was a subject of gratification that the spirit of nationality, which Buonaparte had thought he could for ever extinguish by his decrees and false statements, still lived and blazed out the more fiercely from its late suppression. “ Ye were Germans,” said Count Witgenstein, in one of his addresses, “ but ye have been forced to become Frenchmen.” He who does not feel such a compulsory abjuration of his country as

the bitterest of injuries and insults, does not deserve the name of man. Throughout Germany this cutting thought began to produce its proper and natural fruit,—an emotion of vengeance, which when sanctioned by honour and justice constitutes an essential ingredient in human nature, and which must be reckoned upon as one of the most important features of these sanguinary campaigns. Even in Dresden, as before observed, the capital of an Ally still devoted to the cause of Buonaparte—in Dresden, menaced by the approach of the Russians, and occupied by a French Marshal, the Prince of Eckmühl, the people had dared to shew their German spirit, by resolutely opposing the destruction of their beautiful bridge, 685 paces long, which was so ornamental and so useful to their city, and one of the handsomest in Germany. The larger part of this city, which is on the North of the Elbe, was occupied by the Russians, whilst Davoust withdrew to the new town on the South side of the river.

According to the dispositions made by General Witgenstein on the left bank of the Elbe, the three flying corps, the first of which was under the command of General Von Dornberg, the second under Von Tchernicheff, and the third

under Von Tettenborne, were to precede the army, and to pass the Elbe between Hamburg and Magdeburg.

Whilst preparations were making for the passage at Ferchland, Havelberg, Sandau, Werben, Lentzen, &c. the French army concentrated in the vicinity of Magdeburg, and strengthened itself by a part of the troops which were in the vicinity of Dresden and Leipzig. Its left wing consisted of three considerable corps, which were encamped near Luberitz and Stendal, in the neighbourhood of Gardeleben, and the whole army was under the command of Marshals Davoust and Victor.

General Von Dornberg arrived first at Havelberg, and afterwards on the 26th of March crossed the Elbe at the village of Guitjobel, opposite to Werben, with his corps. On the 28th of March, the enemy, four or five thousand strong, approached from Arneberg, and by their superiority of force, obliged that corps to quit the town of Werben, and re-cross the Elbe. The corps lost in this affair only one officer and eighteen dragoons, who had remained too long at Werben.

Meanwhile the corps of General Tchernicheff arrived at Havelberg from Genthin, and this

General held a council of war with the other two Generals, Von Dornberg and Von Berken-dorff, concerning the future operations ; in consequence of which, General Von Tchernicheff first passed the Elbe with his corps at the Sandkruge, and took possession of Seehausen and Lichterfeld, to secure the passage of the corps of Von Dornberg.

Scarcely were the needful dispositions made, when Major Count Von Puschkin, who was posted with a regiment of Cossacks at Lichterfeld, was attacked by three battalions of French infantry and 200 cavalry, with two pieces of artillery. This officer successfully kept the enemy employed, until a regiment of cavalry of the division of the Col. Baron Von Pahlen came to his support. Both these regiments now attacked the enemy, drove him back to Werben, and made two officers and sixty men prisoners. The vicinity of the enemy rendered it advisable that General Von Dornberg, on crossing the river a second time, should not pass at Sandkruge, but somewhat lower down, near Lentzen, which he accordingly did, on the 31st of March. Upon this the following disposition was made: General Dornberg's infantry marched to Danneberg, the cavalry under General Von Berkendorff to Luchow, and the corps of General Von Tcherni-

cheff towards Wustrau.—The latter had, to secure this motion, detached two regiments of Cossacks, under the command of Colonel Von Wlasoff, to Seehausen, with orders to follow the other corps by the way of Arensee and Salzwedel, to oppose the enemy posted between Stendal and Gardelegen. No sooner was this position taken, than Generals Von Dornberg and Tchernicheff were informed that General Morand, with a corps of upwards of 3000 infantry, 11 cannon, and 300 cavalry, was pressing forward by the way of Tottstadt to Luneberg, to punish the inhabitants of that town, for having dared to take up arms, and with the assistance of fifty Cossacks of the corps of General Tettenborne, drove away a squadron of French cavalry, which wished to take possession of the town. The commanding Generals then resolved on hastening to Luneberg, to protect the brave inhabitants from the fate which threatened them. In consequence of the troops having made a forced march of ten German (forty English) miles in twenty-four hours, the corps of Dornberg and Tchernicheff could not arrive at Breitenstein and Bienenbützel until the 2d of April, in the morning, twelve hours after the entry of the French into Luneberg. Here they were informed, that on this very forenoon several executions were to take place in Lune-

berg, and that a number of victims were again to attest the tyranny of the oppressors of Germany. They, therefore, determined to attack the city on the moment, and for which they made the following dispositions :

The Colonel Baron Von Pahlen was ordered by General Von Tchernicheff to surround the town on the left bank of the Elmenau with two regiments of Cossacks, there to commence the attack, and endeavour to draw the attention of the enemy from the point of the main attack, intended to be made on the right bank of the Elmenau.

General Tchernicheff caused, in the meanwhile, the position of Bienenbittel to be strongly garrisoned, it being of the greatest importance to the enemy for surrounding the Russian corps. General Dornberg had likewise the foresight to detach a regiment of Cossacks to Dallenburg, to cover the roads to Danneberg, Gartono, and Luchow, and guard the passage over the Netze with one company of infantry and a cannon. Scarcely had these two corps approached the town, on the right bank of the Elmenau, within the distance of two cannon shot, and drawn themselves up in order, under cover of the bushes and hedges, than Colonel Baron Von

Pahlen, with great skill, commenced the attack on the other side with the expected success. The enemy went against him with two battalions of infantry and three pieces of artillery, with intent to cut him off from the road to Bienenbittel. Both parties encountered at this place, and charged each other briskly. Generals Von Dornberg, Von Benkendorff, and Von Tchernicheff, now caused on their side the cavalry to advance in such a manner, that Von Benkendorff led the right and Tchernicheff the left wing. The enemy, who was in total ignorance of the strength of the Russian and Prussian corps, and imagined that he had only to act against a few Cossacks, was hereby surprized: he, however, detached a battalion of infantry, with two cannon, and 150 cavalry on this side. This cavalry was immediately attacked, and defeated by Colonel Von Bedraga, and the two cannon were likewise cut off from the town and taken.

At the same time General Von Dornberg, at the head of the Prussian battalion of infantry, commanded by Major Von Borke, and cavalry commanded by General Von Berkendorff, rushed on the enemy's battalion, and drove it along the bridge, close under the town, on the right bank of the Elmenau. The Russian battalion of infantry, under the command of Major Von

Essen, at the same time attacked them on the left bank of the Elmenau, and General Von Tchernicheff supported these movements with two pieces of artillery, and made an attack at the head of his cavalry. The Russian and Prussian infantry found the gates, the walls, and even the houses in the town defended by the enemy's infantry. The situation of the place was favourable for making a vigorous resistance, and here one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements took place. Russians and Prussians emulating each other, covered themselves with glory, and the artillery, which was not more than 100 paces distant from that of the enemy, caused great devastation in the streets of the town.

The dispositions made by General Dornberg, during the engagement, were exceedingly skilful. General Tchernicheff, at the head of his Hussars, broke into the town almost at the same time with the enemy's tirailleurs, and on this occasion the brave Major Count Von Puschkin was killed by a cartridge ball.

At length the Prussians first succeeded, after the battle had continued with the greatest obstinacy at the entrance of the town for more than two hours, to possess themselves of another gate, and to make way for General Berkendorff's

cavalry, and the rest of General Tchernicheff's cavalry. This forced the enemy to quit the town, which he did in such haste, that one of his battalions being cut off, was obliged to remain there. The Russian corps was so weak in infantry, that this battalion could not be immediately subdued, almost all the troops being employed in the pursuit of the enemy. Meanwhile, Colonel Baron Von Pahlen profited of this moment with the greatest ability, drawing the regiment of Cossacks sent him by General Tettenborne to his assistance, and manœuvred conjointly with Generals Dornberg and Tchernicheff's cavalry in such a manner, that the enemy was closed in on all sides. They now despaired of success, but nevertheless formed into three squares, and determined on defending themselves to the last. A brisk fire of musketry now commenced, as the battalion which was there cut off, being discovered by the Russian Yagers, made a desperate attack with the bayonet; but this was the enemy's last effort, who being mowed down by the Russian and Prussian fire of grape-shot, saw there was no possibility of escape, and laid down their arms at all points. The result of this day's victory was nine pieces of artillery, (four of which were taken by the corps of General Dornberg, four by that of General Tchernicheff, and one by General

Tettenborne's Cossacks) two of the aforesaid guns, and two pair of colours, were presented to General Tchernicheff by Colonel Von Pahlen, and he received a third pair of colours by the Finland regiment of Dragoons, under the command of Colonel Von Kruse. Among the prisoners was the Commander of the Corps, and General of Division, Morand, who was severely wounded; and besides him the Chief of his General Staff, De Lourde, the Saxon Colonel Von Eberstein, Colonel Poisy, and all the officers of the General Staff. In the whole the Russians took upwards of 100 officers and 2200 privates, prisoners.

The zeal and assiduity, combined with judgment, evinced by the Generals in this first battle of the Combined Russian and Prussian troops on the left bank of the Elbe, reflected the greatest honour on them. The first action of any importance on the German ground, where two weak battalions of infantry, and by reason of the many detachments made, only about 2000 cavalry, took a town encompassed with walls and ditches, and defended with the greatest obstinacy, certainly deserved honourable mention in the annals of this memorable war.

Buonaparte in all his former campaigns generally has succeeded in obtaining information of the designs of the enemy opposed to him. This is a principle to which every skilful General directs the most particular attention, as from it the greatest successes are to be derived. The French were, however, at this period kept in the utmost ignorance of their adversaries' movements; and the Allies generally contrived to obtain accurate information of their plans.— Thus it happened in the present instance. Whilst Beauharnois, not knowing that Witgenstein was so near him, was flattering himself that he should march on unimpeded to Berlin, the latter was taking the most skilful measures, first to surround, and then to fall upon him with his entire force. For this purpose he collected the corps of Von D'York and Berg, at Zerbst and Leitzkau, on the great southern road from Magdeburg to Dessau, whilst those of Borstell and Bulow were stationed at Nedlitz and Ziesar, rather to the northward of Magdeburg. Both parties were to move forward simultaneously from the opposite points, and the one was to fall on the enemy with impetuosity the moment it learnt, by a cannonade, that the other had com-

menced an attack. The plan perfectly succeeded. The enemy, who had the advantage of the ground, resisted obstinately; but he was successively driven, by the separate detachments of the Allies, from the positions, which he endeavoured to maintain at three different villages, and after having two regiments of cavalry entirely cut to pieces, he owed the preservation of his remaining force only to the intervention of darkness. In the course of the night he drew off at all points, and did not even attempt to maintain the defiles, but retreated through them to Magdeburg, which fortress was afterwards closely blockaded on that side. Thus were the French already twice defeated by the united Russian and Prussian forces; their first attempt on each side of the Elbe, frustrated. The victories of Luneberg and Mockern were hailed as omens of the success of the campaign, and a solemn *Te Deum* was sung on account of these glorious exploits, in all the churches of the Prussian metropolis.

The Russian force at this time was divided into three armies—one under Witgenstein, a second under Tchichagoff, and a third under Winzingerode; Kutusoff commanding the whole. —Witgenstein's main force had crossed the Elbe, in order to drive the French force towards the

Maine. One of Witgenstein's corps, under General Berkendorff, had entered Lubec. Other corps were on the Elbe, near Boitzenburg. Part of Tchichagoff's army was near Thorn, whilst another part was employed under Platoff in the siege of Dantzic. Part of Winzingerode's army was near Custrin and Lansberg. Another part occupied the old town of Dresden, whilst another corps had passed the Elbe at Schandau, to turn Davoust, and Russian reinforcements were on the Vistula.—The Prussian force was thus distributed: General Blucher had removed from Silesia into Saxony; General D'York was at Berlin with the main army. Detachments had been sent to Hamburg and Rostock, which were now occupied by Prussian corps; and another Prussian detachment had invested Stettin. A Swedish force was at Stralsund, and by the commencement of the ensuing campaign the Crown Prince of Sweden was expected to have the command of 50,000 men.

The Russian force, with which the campaign was expected at this period to open, amounted to 220,000 men; the Prussian 70,000; Swedish and Pomeranian 50,000. A grand total of 340,000 men. To this must be added the force which Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, the Hanse Towns, and Saxony, might furnish.

These expectations, however, were not realized. The Russian army which crossed the Vistula, amounted to nothing like 220,000. It had been much diminished by sickness, produced by the winter campaign; and it is known that not less than 60,000 men had died. The Russian force brought to the Elbe did not exceed 100,000 effectives, and there was an unfortunate relaxation of exertion at this period, between the months of January and May, which sadly disappointed the expectations which had been formed, that the Allies would have appeared on the Elbe with so preponderating a force as would have defeated any attempt of Buonaparte to maintain himself between that river and the Rhine.

Owing to this suspension of energy and activity, it will be observed that Buonaparte had leisure to assemble and organize a force which enabled him to resume the offensive and to recover the support of the small auxiliary states which were wavering. The Russians had also determined in January that the Vistula should be the utmost boundary of the advance of their main force, and therefore when circumstances produced a change in this determination, the arrangements for bringing forward the reinforce-

ments and reserves, were not in sufficient progress.

Nevertheless, at this period, nearly the whole of Continental Europe appeared in a state bordering on insurrection against the French. Those who, like the Dutch, had for years habitually crouched under the yoke of Buonaparte, entertained the general feeling which his conduct had inspired: but they could not be expected to take up arms whilst hostile garrisons were in all their towns, and no large army near to cover and support their insurrection. Besides, Holland is too small a country to assert its rights in competition with the great military empire, headed by Buonaparte. The same may be said of Genoa, where, in the course of March, a plot to excite insurrection was discovered, and punished by the execution of the five principal conspirators: not long previously, a similar plot was detected at Florence.—These States are too narrow in extent to venture easily on great undertakings; but, if once the patriots of Italy could make common cause, and rely on each other for support, their boldness in asserting their freedom would not be less than we have already seen in Spain, for the hatred of the Italians against the French is universal, and their ancient renown, the hardy and naturally warlike cha-

racter of their peasantry, their habit of using fire-arms from their infancy, and many other circumstances equally favourable to national independence, assure us, that, if they could be but once united under a common standard, they would irresistibly advance to the establishment of a free and mighty dominion.

It was this nationality, this agreement of Saxons*, Westphalians, Hanoverians, and Hamburgers, in the common name, interest, and feeling of Germans, that gave consistency to their insurrection, and afforded the most reasonable ground of hope in their success. It has always been Buonaparte's policy to break and fritter away the power of Germany, among the petty principalities of the Rhenish Confederation. Wisely, therefore, the Allies resolved, that this badge of vassalage, this artful invention of foreign jealousy, should be, if possible, dissolved, and a new foundation laid for that communion of interests, which could alone form the German people into a solid rampart against the future attacks of French ambition.

* Lord Cathcart, in his dispatch of the 26th of March, from Kalitsch, observes—"The inhabitants of Saxony have every where received the Russian forces with expressions of cordiality not inferior to those of the Prussians.—The same has occurred in Mecklenburg."

It is now necessary to turn our attention, and with it will follow indignation, to a circumstance which cannot fail to sink deep into the heart, and to receive a strong and lasting impression on the feelings of oppressed humanity. On the 4th of April Buonaparte had a special commission assembled at Bremen, and Hermann Fruse, aged 26; Repke Bosche, 29; Hermann Henre Heuchaus, 21; all dwelling at Blexen, in the arrondissement of Oldenburg; and Gerd Harms, aged 46, living at Tettens, near Blexen, were convicted of having borne arms against France, and taken in the flagrant crime at the battery of Blexen. Their property was therefore confiscated, and themselves condemned to death. Here was a repetition of the cold-blooded massacre of Moscow, and of the peasantry at Bremerlee*, who had capitulated in the hope of saving their lives. Buonaparte announced his will as paramount to reason and conscience—as a law arbitrary and ultimate, not to be questioned by man, not to be controlled by the Almighty. These cold, formal, deliberate perversions of the rules of human conduct are infinitely worse, and more wicked, than the slaughter of thousands or tens of thousands in a contest of open and avowed force. The one is only the

* Page 267.

brutal fierceness of a tiger; the other is the craft and malice of a demon. The well-being of society requires that the legitimate magistrate should be invested with a power of punishing a breach of native allegiance, even by the death of the offender; but when the French Ruler invades the office of the magistrate, allegiance is not only not his due, but to oppose him is a duty and a virtue. If Buonaparte had been the lawful sovereign of Bremen, exercising his power legally, he would have done right in ordering the insurgents to be punished as the law might direct: but he was not the lawful sovereign; and the whole question of right or wrong in principle, turns upon this previous question of true or false in fact*.

Was Buonaparte, however, alone to be blamed for this dreadful outrage? This is an important

* It is the interest of all to protest against so monstrous a doctrine; but when that doctrine is carried into practice, by murdering the subjects of a foreign state for their loyalty and patriotism, as if these were crimes, mankind should not content themselves with protestation or remonstrance; it is their duty to avenge the sufferers. The names of Hermann Fruse, Repke Bosche, Henre Heuchaus, and Gerd Harms, are to be added to the citizens of Moscow—to the Duke D'Enghien—to the bookseller Palm—and to the numberless others, whom Buonaparte has murdered, in open violation of all law, but with the mockery of legal solemnities.

question, and it will not be disputed that this fresh outrage would never have been ventured upon, had a just vengeance pursued the satellites and ministers of his ferocity at Moscow. While the motives which dictated the forbearance of the Russians were to be applauded, the false humanity which led to these fresh murders must be reprobated. The Rulers of Europe owe high duties to their subjects and to mankind; and the remedy for every desperate case should be suited to the exigency. If the moral foundations of social order are undermined, the whole fabric must be crumbled into ruins.

The main armies of the Russians and Prussians were now concentrating in the neighbourhood of Leipzig; Witgenstein's head-quarters were at Doelisch, about twenty miles to the north, and Blucher's at Altenburg, about thirty miles to the south of that city. Von D'York was in advance of Witgenstein at Zorbig, and his detachments occupied Bernburg and Calbe. The Allies were perfectly aware that the French were debouching from the Thuringian mountains, with a view to join Beauharnois, who, in order to favour this measure, moved from Magdeburg towards the upper part of the Saale: the plan of the Allies was calculated on such knowledge. The experience of Jena was not

thrown away upon the Allies. They employed every exertion to prevent the junction of so vast a body of French force as was then assembled. The natural consequence of Beauharnois receding from Magdeburg was, that it became less practicable and less important to maintain his communications with Davoust. The latter, therefore, uniting with Sebastiani and Vandamme, became at liberty to attempt the great object of Buonaparte's wishes—the cutting off the troops which came to organize insurrection in the neighbourhood of the Weser; in which, however, he was in a great measure disappointed. General Dornberg, with that skill and activity which has all along characterized his conduct, removed all his troops to the right bank of the Elbe, without the least loss. Here they covered Hamburg, against which Davoust continued to make a demonstration, though with very little effect, from the opposite side of the river.

On the 16th of April the garrison of Thorn, consisting of 400 Poles, 3500 Bavarians, and 90 Frenchmen, surrendered to the Russians under General Count Langeron. The fruits of the capitulation were 200 pieces of cannon; and nearly the whole of the Bavarians and Poles afterwards enlisted under the patriotic standard. General Langeron's corps, amounting to 15,000 men, was

thus released to co-operate with the force engaged before Dantzic. Spandau, situated on the River Spre, and not far distant from Berlin, capitulated to the Russians on the 18th of April, the garrison agreeing not to serve against the allies during one year.

The fortress of Czenstokaw surrendered on the 4th of May to a Russian force commanded by Lieutenant-General Von Sacken, after the batteries had been opened two days. The artillery was so directed, that it speedily set fire to three of the enemy's magazines, while the 8th and 29th regiments of chasseurs kept the garrison so much in awe, that they durst not shew themselves on the walls of the town. This part of the operation was under the direction of Major-General the Count De Lieven. The enemy at first proposed terms that were inadmissible; but afterwards they surrendered as prisoners of war.

In the meantime Buonaparte, who, on his return to Paris, instead of betraying that dismay and those apprehensions which almost every other mind, under circumstances similar to those in which he was placed, would have shewn, vi-

gorously exerted himself to repair the losses he had suffered, and by another grand effort he determined on attempting to support that character of importance and superiority over the Continent, which his former successes and policy had enabled him to acquire. His system and skill soon procured him addresses from all the corporate bodies; and his usual energy, assisted by well-appointed emissaries, his arrogance, and that levity which is most admirably adapted to suit the feelings of the French people, enabled him, in a short period, to raise extraordinary armies, out of a population which the sanguine politicians of Europe had fancied to be entirely exhausted by the general drain made thereon for the execution of his former prospects of ambition and aggrandisement. The municipal corps of Paris offered to raise and fully equip 500 horsemen; and similar offers were forced from the deluded people in other parts of the French empire. The disposable army which he now secured for his future schemes, amounted to 400,000 men to be employed on the Elbe, 200,000 for services in Spain, and 200,000 partly on the Rhine, partly in the 32d Military Division, and in Italy*.

* "And it is in the view of such forces that our enemies conceive the ridiculous idea of dismembering the empire, and

Every moment Buonaparte could spare from the Cabinet he devoted to the active personal toil of his new recruits. He put his shoulder to the wheel, sparing neither himself nor others, neither body nor mind. In one week, from the time of their being called upon, all the conscripts were clothed, and put in march for their places of destination. This perseverance, this zeal, this resolute struggle with impossibilities, exhibit that great energy of mind and talent which the Ruler of the French nation so pre-eminently possesses, which have enabled him to carry into execution the projects of his ambitious mind ; and become the scourge of continental Europe.

to allow our departments to be given as indemnities, in their political calculations. *This struggle is the last. Europe will take a definitive situation, and the events of the winter of 1813 will at least have been of advantage to France, by causing her to know her friends and her foes, the extent of her own means, the devotion of the people, and their attachment to the Imperial dynasty.*" *Vide Count Defermont's report to the Senate on the plan for calling out an additional force. April 8, 1813.*

The correctness of the above observations, must be very shortly exemplified.—The critical situation of Napoleon's affairs at this period justifies the idea that the time rapidly approaches when his sun shall be set, or when his power shall be much greater than ever. Sept. 8, 1813.

The Viceroy of Italy, Eugene Beauharnois, was appointed to be second in command, and General Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram, Chief of the Staff.—The French army consisted of twelve corps, and the Imperial Guards—they were commanded as follows : 1st corps under Marshal Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl; the second under Marshal Victor, Duke of Belluno; the third under Marshal Ney, Prince of Moskwa; fourth under General Count Bertrand; fifth under General Count Lauriston; sixth under Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa; seventh under General Count Regnier; eighth under Marshal Junot, Duke of Abrantes; ninth under General Count Sebastiani; tenth under Marshal Augereau, Duke of Castiglione; eleventh under Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarèntum; twelfth under Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio; and the Imperial Guard under Marshal Bessieres, Duke of Istria.

The line of road from Frankfort on the Maine to Bamberg, formed the base of a triangle, from which the different French corps were now marching towards Jena, for the commencement of the second campaign. Marshal Ney, who took the lead on the left, arrived with the third corps on the 21st of April, in front of Erfurt, by

the great road from Hanau; and General Bertrand, whose corps, the fourth, formed the extremity of the right wing, reached Coburg about the same time. The intermediate corps were rapidly closing up. Marshal Marmont with the sixth was immediately in the rear of Marshal Ney, at Gotha; and Bessieres with the Imperial Guards, was behind him at Eysenach. Marshal Ney passed the Saale after an action between Louham's division and a part of the allied troops near Weissenfels. Bertrand occupied Jena, and on the 29th of April moved his head-quarters to Dornberg on the Saale. Beauharnois debouched by Halle and Marseburg, and at the latter place some Prussians, belonging to D'York's corps, were repulsed by General Macdonald. Victor with the second corps, was at this period at Bernburg, Oudinot at Saalfeld, and Sebastiani at Vilzen, where he attacked with success a small corps of the Russians, commanded by Tchernicheff. Lauriston had advanced to Witten, and afterwards opposite to Halle, where he defeated some Prussians. Marmont was at Koesen upon the Saale, Davoust at Bremen.

The plan of operations being fully determined on, Buonaparte quitted Paris. On the 20th of April, he arrived at Mentz; on the 25th at Er-

furt, and on the 29th he moved his head-quarters to Naumburg.

The object of the French Ruler appeared to be to concentrate his forces on the right bank of the Saale, not far from the famous plain of Lutzen, where the great Gustavus fell in the arms of victory. It had been expected that this project would have been defeated by the early junction of Blucher and Witgenstein, in such force as to have compelled Beauharnois to give battle or retreat; this event, however, did not occur, and Beauharnois was allowed to move up the Saale from Bernburg, whilst Ney descended its left bank, and Bertrand its right.

The French, nevertheless, encountered a persevering, and, in many respects, an effectual opposition. Lauriston and Macdonald endeavoured, on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of April to force a passage at three different points successively, viz. Wettin, Halle, and Marseburg; it was only on the third attempt, and at the last-mentioned place, that they were successful: they consequently suffered considerably in these affairs. Souham, who commanded Ney's advance, passed the Saale with some opposition, near Naumburg, and pushed on to Weissenfels,

ten miles on the road to Leipzig. In obtaining possession of Weissenfels, he was opposed by the Russian General Lanskoj; and a very warm engagement ensued, in which the French killed and wounded exceeded one hundred. Ney was followed by Marmont, whose head-quarters were at Koesen, three miles on this side of Naumburg. On the right bank, Bertrand and Oudinot each brought up a corps from Bamberg; the former reached Dornberg, twenty miles south of Naumburg; the latter was at Saalfeld, about twenty-five miles further in the rear.

The proceedings of Buonaparte were marked with the greatest degree of caution. The gallant veteran Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk was left ill on the march at Buntzlau, where he died *; and

* *Letter addressed by the Emperor of Russia to the widow of Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, dated Dresden, April 25.*

Princess Catherine Ilinishna!—The Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, Prince Michael Larionovitz Kutusoff Smolenzk, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an eternal life. A great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large! Your tears flow not alone for him—I weep—all Russia weeps with you. Yet, God, who has called him to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal; a grateful country will never forget

General Witgenstein was appointed to the chief command of the Russian army.

Buonaparte's movements, however, announced his immediate intention to act on the offensive, and accordingly the combined Russian and Prussian armies united between Leipzig and Altenburg, a central and advantageous position. The Commander-in-Chief, Count Witgenstein, had perfectly ascertained, by reconnoissances, that the enemy, after having concentrated himself, was debouching with the whole of his forces by Merseburg and Weissenfels, whilst at the same time he sent a considerable corps on Leipzig, which appeared to be the principal view of his operations. This discovery decided General Witgenstein immediately to take advantage of the moment when it would be out of the power of this detached corps to co-operate with the

his merits. Europe and the whole world will for ever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour, beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swell with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such great men. I have given orders that you should retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband, and remain your affectionate

ALEXANDER.

main body of the French army, and to attack it with his whole force. For this purpose, it was necessary to conceal his movements, and during the night between the 19th and 20th, (1 to 2d of May) he drew to himself the corps under the orders of the General of Cavalry Tormozoff. By this junction, he was enabled to throw himself *en masse* on the enemy, at a place where the latter might suppose he had only to deal with a detachment, whose aim was to give him disturbance on his flanks. The action commenced. Generals Blucher and York "entered into it with an ardour and energy which was in a lively manner participated by the troops." The operations took place between the Elster and the Luppe. The village of Gross-Gorschen was the key and centre of the French position.

The following accounts are given by the Russians of this engagement.

"The battle commenced by the attack of the village of Gross-Gorschen. The enemy was sensible of the whole importance of this point, and wished to maintain himself in it. It was carried by the right wing of the corps under General Blucher's orders; and, at the same time, his left wing pushed in front, and soon charged on the village of Klein-Gorschen. From this

time, all the corps came successively into action, which soon became general. The village of Gross-Gorschen was disputed with unexampled obstinacy. Six times it was taken and retaken by the bayonet: but the valour of the Russians and Prussians obtained the superiority, and this village, as well as those of Klein-Gorschen and Rham, remained in the hands of the combined armies. The enemy's centre was broken, and he was driven off the field of battle. He, nevertheless, brought forward fresh columns, which being come from Leipzig, were destined to support the flank of the enemy. Some corps drawn from the reserve, and placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Kanovnitzen, were opposed to them. Here, towards evening, a combat commenced, which was likewise exceedingly obstinate, but the enemy was also completely repulsed at this point.

“ Every thing was disposed for renewing the attack at sun-rise, and orders had been sent to General Miloradovitch, who with his whole corps was posted at Zeitz, to join the main army, and to be there at break of day; the presence of an entire fresh corps, with one hundred pieces of artillery, leaving no doubt as to the issue of the day. But towards morning, the enemy appeared to be moving in the direction of Leipzig,

always falling towards his rear-guard. This mode of refusing the challenge made for engaging, gave room to believe, that he would endeavour to manœuvre, either to move towards the Elbe, or on the communications of the combined armies. Under this supposition, it became necessary to oppose manœuvre against manœuvre, and, by occupying a commanding front between Colditz and Rothlitz, we immediately became possessed of every benefit of this kind, without, for such purpose, quitting too far the points for making an offensive attack. On this memorable day the Prussian army fought in a manner to fix the admiration of its allies ; the King's Guards covered themselves with glory. Russians and Prussians rivalled each other in valour and zeal, under the eyes of the two Sovereigns, who did not, for a moment, quit the field of battle. The enemy lost sixteen cannon ; and we have taken 1400 prisoners : not a single trophy has been conquered from the Allied Army ; its loss, in killed and wounded, may amount to 8000 men ; that of the French army is estimated at 12 or 15,000. Among the wounded are, the General of Cavalry, Blucher, and Lieutenant-Generals Kanovnitzin and Scarnhorst ; their wounds are not dangerous. The enemy, having but few cavalry, endeavoured to get and keep possession of the villages, the ground of which was rugged

and broken ; consequently the day of the 20th of April (May 2) was a continual combat between the infantry. An uninterrupted shower of balls, bullets, grape-shot, and grenades, was kept up on the part of the French, during an action of ten hours."

Particular statement of the Battle at Gross-Gorschen on the 2d of May.

" On the 30th of April information was received at General Count Von Witgenstein's head-quarters, of the greater part of the army and the French guards, having crossed the Saale, in the vicinity of Naumburg. It was at the same time reported, that the Emperor Napoleon had arrived at the army. We observed that the Viceroy's army drew to the right. It was, therefore, clear that the enemy endeavoured by all means to form a junction, and that it was most probably his intention to give a general battle. His Majesty the Emperor Alexander, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, therefore, went to their armies to animate the courage of the troops by their personal presence. But the better to be enabled to judge of the enemy's strength, a reconnoissance was undertaken with General Von Winzingerode's corps, from Leip-

zig, on the road to Weissenfels. This confirmed the intelligence received, of the enemy being there in considerable force. Upon this, a very severe engagement took place on the 1st of May, with the said corps, by which we were convinced that the main force of the enemy was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen. It was believed that the Viceroy's position was between Leipzig and Halle, and consequently the enemy's plan for the battle was clearly apparent. General Count Von Witgenstein resolved on being before-hand with him, to obstruct him in his dispositions by a bold attack, and to restrain his offensive operations. It was necessary in this attempt to make it our main object, immediately to fall on such part of his force as was, on his side, considered to be the best troops ; in order, after such a stroke, to give larger space for the operations of our flying corps, over whom the enemy had latterly acquired a superiority. Therefore it was requisite, if possible, to direct the attack immediately against his rear-most troops. For this purpose the main army broke up in the night between the 1st and 2d of May, from Notha and Borna, in two columns, and pushed forward as far as the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. General Von Winzingerode received orders to mask this operation,

to leave his posts of cavalry standing, and to unite himself with the main army by the way of Zwenkau.

“ At break of day all the troops passed the defile of the Elster, near Pegau, and drew up, in order of battle, on the left bank of the Elster, with their right wing to the village of Werben, and their left to that of Gruna. By reconnoitring, we discovered that the enemy's main body already extended beyond Weissenfels, to the villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein Gorschen, Rahno, Starsiedel, and Lutzen. The enemy did not venture to attempt disturbing our march, nor to get before us into the plain, but took his position in the village between Gross-Gorschen and Starsiedel.

“ About 12 o'clock at noon, General Blucher received orders, as commanding the van-guard of the army, and supported by a part of the Russian artillery, to attack the enemy. The attack was made on the village of Gross-Gorschen, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. It was taken by storm. General D'York marched with his corps to the right of the village. The whole army wheeled to the right, and presently after the battle became general along the whole line of Blucher's corps. The enemy,

at the same time, displayed a numerous artillery, chiefly of heavy calibre, and the fire of musketry in the villages was kept up with great vivacity for several hours. In this murderous battle the villages of Klein-Gorschen and Rahno, as likewise the village of Gross-Gorschen, were early taken by storm, and with unexampled bravery, and kept possession of for several hours. At length the enemy returned in considerable force, surrounded, and in part retook these villages; but on the attack being renewed, was not able to retain possession of them. The Prussian Guards moved forward, and, after a most obstinate combat of an hour and a half, those villages were again retaken from the enemy, and remained in our possession. During this time, the corps of General Winzingerode on the left wing, and the corps of General D'York, with a part of the Russian troops under General Berg, had taken a share in the battle. We stood opposed to the enemy, at the distance of 100 paces, and one of the most bloody battles became general.

“Our reserves had drawn nearer to the field of battle, to be in readiness wherever needful, and thus was the battle continued till near 7 o'clock in the evening. During its course, the villages on the left wing were likewise several times taken and retaken by both parties. At

7 o'clock the enemy appeared with a new corps on our right wing before Gross and Klein-Gorschen,—probably with the Viceroy's army,—made a brisk attack on us, and endeavoured to tear from us the advantages we had gained. The infantry of a part of the Russian reserves was now brought forward to the right wing, to the support of General D'York's corps, which was briskly attacked, and a most desperate engagement (in which the Russian artillery, during the whole remaining time, greatly distinguished itself, as did the corps of D'York, Blucher, and Winzingerode, the whole day,) was now continued until night came on. The enemy had likewise again attacked our centre and the villages with great briskness, but we maintained our position. In this situation night put an end to the battle. The enemy was to have been again attacked on the following morning, the 3d of May. He had meanwhile taken Leipzig during the battle. This obliged us to manœuvre with him. It was not till afterwards that we were informed, that in consequence of the battle he had again been forced to quit it; and had, by the same means, lost Halle, and 15,000 men of his best troops; many of his cannon are dismounted, and a number of his powder-waggon blown up. Our light detachments are again at liberty to harass him, and to prosecute the advantage gained.

We have consequently kept the field of battle ; the victory is ours, and the intended purpose is accomplished. Near 50,000 of our best troops have not yet been engaged ; we have not lost a single cannon, and the enemy must have perceived what can be effected by united national feelings, between two firmly allied nations, in courage and resistance ; and that the high hand of Providence protects the just cause of those Powers who have no object but their independence, and to found a durable peace on the freedom of all nations.

“ Such was the battle of the 2d of May, fought near the plain of Lutzen, where the liberty of Germany was once before conquered. With the courage of lions did both Russians and Prussians fight for it ; and their endeavours will not have been in vain. The loss we have sustained may amount to about 10,000 men, but the most of them are only slightly wounded. Among the killed, on the Prussian side, we have, among several other Staff-officers, to lament the loss of the Prince of Hesse-Homburg. Our wounded are, on the Russian part, General Von Kanovnitzen, and on the Prussian, Generals Blucher and Scharnhorst slightly, and Hunerbein dangerously. On the French side, according to the report of the prisoners, we learn that Marshal

Bessieres is killed, Ney and Souham wounded. Upwards of 1000 prisoners are already brought in, ten pieces of artillery taken, and some thousand muskets captured at Halle. Our light troops are now occupied in pursuing the enemy.

“ Although the numerous villages lying near each other in this territory, and its canals, together with the precaution taken by the enemy never to appear in the open plain, did not afford our cavalry an opportunity of charging in line, yet the Prussian Garde-du-Corps, and the regiment of Brandenburg Cuirassiers, cut down several masses of the enemy's infantry, even amidst the villages, and under his cross-fire, and have thereby gained a share in the immortal honour which the Prussian warriors have again obtained in this murderous battle; and in like manner have the Russians proved that they can fight on the German soil, with the same sentiments which insured victory to them in their own country. These are the results of this day, up to this present. God bless our arms: he visibly, and during the battle, protected both our beloved Monarchs, who several times exposed themselves to danger, even in the villages where the battle raged the hottest. May he furthermore bless and preserve them to us !”

Prussian account of the Battle of Lutzen.

*“ Pegau, Saxony, May 3.—*Yesterday morning the two hostile main armies met between Pegau and Lutzen ; the Russians and Prussians being under the chief command of General Wittgenstein, and the enemy’s army under the Emperor Napoleon in person. One of the most dreadful cannonades known in latter annals of warlike operations, took place. It continued from eleven o’clock until ten o’clock in the evening, when night alone put an end to it. During this cannonade the fire of musketry was nearly uninterruptedly kept up, and frequently the valour of the allied troops proved itself in attack with the bayonet. Seldom or never was there a battle fought with such animosity or so murderous. The French derived great advantage from their position on the heights near Lutzen, where they had thrown up strong entrenchments, which they defended with a heavy fire of artillery. But the valour of the allied troops drove them back from one position to another, nor were they even to be deterred when the superior defence of the enemy in his last positions rendered frequent attacks necessary. The result of this warm day was, that the Russian and Prussian troops

kept possession of the field of battle during the whole night, and caused the enemy a double or treble greater loss than their own. As yet there has been brought in but little more than 1000 prisoners, with ten pieces of artillery, and likewise twenty-three powder waggons, which General Von Winzingerode took from the enemy early this morning, the animosity during the fight being too great to give much quarter. But the great consequence is, that the French have now been convinced by the Russian and Prussian troops what may be performed by valour when inflamed by noble enthusiasm in so great, just, and sacred a cause as ours, and of what they may have to expect in future when all the armed force collecting for this war shall be assembled. It is very true, that the loss of the Russian and Prussian troops is very great, nor shall we over-rate it if we for the moment estimate it at from 8000 to 10,000 men in killed and wounded, but most of the latter only slightly. It gives us much pain to be obliged to mention Major the Prince of Hesse-Homburg among the dead, and General Blucher as being wounded (he, however, only left the field half an hour); Generals Von Scharnhorst and Von Hunerbein, whose wounds are however only slight; as likewise the Russian Generals Kanovnitzen and Alexief. But, besides these, an unusually greater proportion of officers,

and also of the younger sons of native Prussia, are among the number of killed and wounded. The noble ardour with which these volunteers met death in the just cause, insures them of being immortalized in the remembrance of their friends and their native country. Even this morning the enemy attempted to make some attack on the allied troops, but was soon repulsed by some cannonading. To afford the latter some rest and refreshment, after their fatigue, they will be taken into the positions of Borna and Rochlitz, from whence it is expected they will immediately break up to commence fresh operations. By what we can learn from the prisoners, Marshal Bessieres and General Souham are among the killed on the enemy's side, and Marshal Ney is wounded.—According to accounts before us, nothing material took place on the 4th or 5th. The Elbe, above Magdeburg, was not threatened. We still wait the official statement of particulars concerning the motions of the several corps, and of their marches and counter-marches.

(Signed) “ L'ESTOQ SACK,

“ The Royal appointed Military Governor for the country between the Elbe and the Oder.”

The following account is from the pen of General Scharnhorst, a very distinguished officer in the Prussian service, and who some time after died of his wounds at Prague.—He was a Hanoverian subject, and an officer of great zeal, merit, and talents, and the author of several excellent military works.—He had been Quarter-Master-General to the Hanoverian army, and when it broke up he entered the Prussian service, in which he attained the same situation. His loss must be considered a very severe one to the Allies, whose general confidence he possessed.

“The enemy turned his back upon Leipzig, and we had behind us Naumburg and Weissenfels. The Elster and the Luppe were at a certain distance from the wings of the two armies. Before our right wing we had a village occupied by the enemy.

“The battle began by the attack of this village, which was carried by the right wing of Blucher’s corps. Soon after, the left wing of that corps found itself before another village, before which the enemy brought several batteries; we opposed to him nearly as much artillery, which we covered by our reserve of ca-

valry, because the infantry had not advanced so far. The other corps came up by degrees, and the battle commenced the whole length of the line, and extended past the last village on the left; I do not exactly know to what distance. We occupied for some hours the village on our right; but the enemy presented himself there in considerable force, surrounded, and took it. He did not keep it above half an hour. We again attacked and took it; we even penetrated beyond it, and took two other villages, by which means we came on the enemy's flanks.

“ From this moment the battle became very obstinate at this point; almost all the infantry of Blucher's corps, and part of that of the other corps, came up by degrees. We were then very near each other. Victory appeared to incline sometimes to the one side, and sometimes to the other. In the meantime we did not lose an inch of ground we occupied on the enemy's flank. It was now between six and seven in the evening, and at this moment I was wounded in the leg, and forced to quit the field of battle. I am ignorant what passed on the left wing; but I perceived that we had likewise gained some ground on that side. The battle was consequently won.

" The enemy has occupied Leipzig in his rear. Towards evening reinforcements had arrived from the Grand Army, and Miloradovitch's corps was in march.

" At this moment I learn the battle is over, and that we are masters, not only of the first field of battle, but likewise of the ground which we had taken from the enemy. Nevertheless, the occupation of Leipzig by the enemy, obliges us to make a lateral movement."

From the foregoing, and even after a strict examination of the French* statements, it will appear that, in the battle of Lutzen, (a place rendered important by the battle between the Swedes and Imperialists in 1632, in which the former obtained the victory, but lost their great and good king Gustavus Adolphus) the French army was beaten in all directions, at the critical moment when Buonaparte brought up a battery of 80 pieces as a last desperate effort, but this was at the close of the day; and, although the Allied

* For the French accounts of this battle, vide 7th Bulletin of the Campaign of 1813, contained in the Appendix, also a document entitled "Aperçu de la Campagne de l'Armée Française, et de l'Armée combinée Russo-Prussienne l'an 1813. Première division, de la bataille de Lutzen jusqu'au passage de l'Elbe par les deux Armées," marked (A) in the Appendix.

cavalry, immensely superior in numbers, was collected with great rapidity to bear upon this point, the darkness of the night prevented all further movements.—Napoleon had the greatest number of men; the Allies were superior in cavalry. In artillery both sides were equal. Napoleon, on venturing into the plain, constructed fine square battalions, which advanced like moving redoubts, garnished at the corners as bastions, with cannon, which by their cross-fire might keep off the attacks of cavalry. A number of these squares were broken. Among others, the battalion of life-guard grenadiers took a battery, which had caused a severe loss to the Allies. This battalion, which was chiefly formed of volunteers, suffered considerable loss, but behaved with distinguished honour. Night only put an end to the battle: the Allied army bivouaced on the field. The day of the 3d passed over without fighting. The French retreated; and the Allies marched to Rotha and Borna.

If the battle had not been gained, the consequence would have been, that General Bulow must have had to defend the Elbe. The retreat, however, of the enemy from Leipzig, by Mersburg, to Querfurt, rendered that measure unnecessary.

The head-quarters of Napoleon, two days after the battle, were at Querfurt; those of Count Witgenstein at Rechlitz; and those of General Blucher at Colditz.

The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia were in the field during the whole of the engagement.—They proceeded, regardless of personal danger, to every part of the line where their presence could be useful in animating the troops, who, by loud and repeated cheers, testified their sense of this mark of heroism and magnanimity in their respective Sovereigns. It is in such grand and awful moments as these only, and not in the brilliant circles of a Court, that good and gallant Monarchs receive the full reward of their virtues, and enjoy that grateful satisfaction which the performance of our duties in every station is certain to procure.

In the battle, Sir Robert Wilson, as a volunteer, assisted by Captain Dawson, Colonel Campbell, and his two Aides-de-Camp, shewed his usual gallantry, and was much distinguished.

END OF VOL. I.

W. Wilson, Printer, 4, Greville-Street, Hatton-Garden, London.

MAY 4 - 1932

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